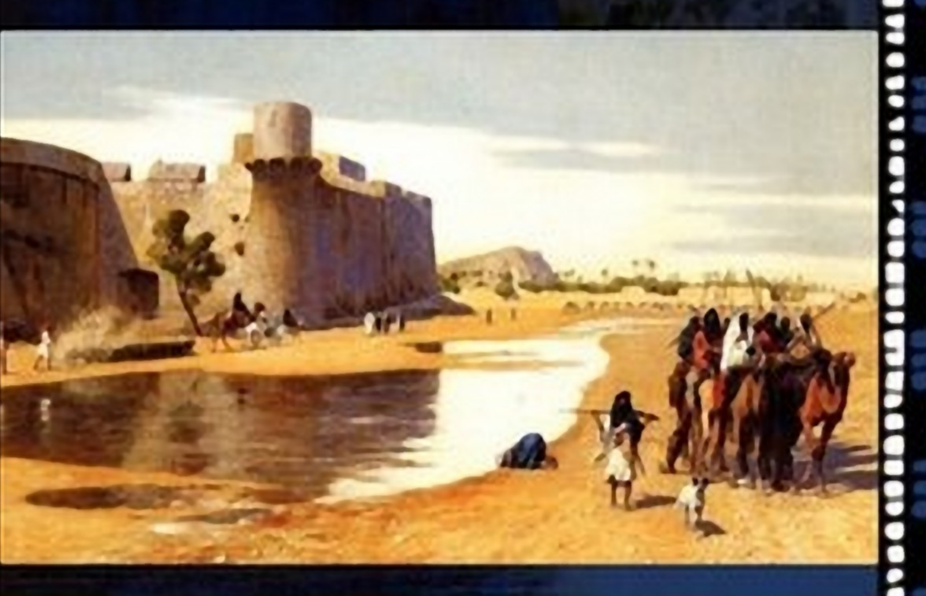
COSIMO CLASSICS

Kitab Futuh Al-Buldan

Volume - 2



The Origins of the Islamic State

[MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORY]

AHMAD BIN YAHYA BIN JABIR AL BILADURI

STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

EDITED BY THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE OF
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Volume LXVIII] [Whole Number 163A

THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC
ACCOMPANIED WITH ANNOTATIONS
GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC NOTES OF THE

KITÂB FUTÛḤ AL-BULDÂN

OF

al-Imâm abu-l 'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn-Jâbir al-Balâdhuri

BY

FRANCIS CLARK MURGOTTEN, PH.D.

*Associate Professor of Modern Languages
University of Nevada*

PART II



New York
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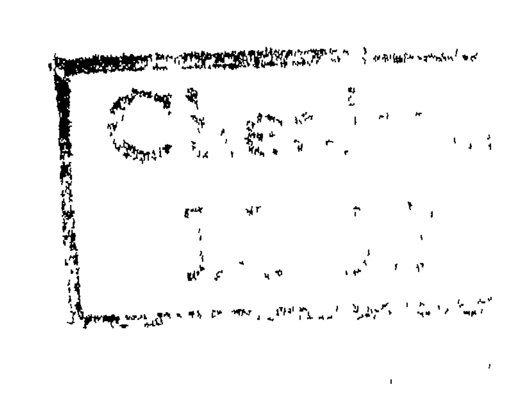
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PREFACE

East and West stand today face to face. They must learn to understand one another if the world is to have enduring peace. More important for civilization than the settlement of the political and national problems which divide the West, grievous though they be, is the harmonizing of the great racial differences which separate the Orient from the Occident. It may be an age-long task to bring the oriental to employ the same mental processes as the occidental, or to teach the latter to view the problems of life from the point of view of the former; but at least we can lead him to know that differences exist, and we can study the historical background, racial and religious, out of which these differences have arisen.

As a help to this mutual understanding, the great history of Balâdhuri, translated under the title of "The Origins of the Islâmic State," is of no mean importance. The present volume completes the task which was begun some years ago by Dr. Philip Khûri Ḥitti, and of which the aim was to present to non-Arabists one of the most important of the sources of Mohammedan history. As Dr. Martin Sprengling says in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* for April 1923, p. 207, "We in this western world are beginning to take greater and more intelligent interest in that teeming Near East, where in remote antiquity our civilization arose, and where a great Moslem culture held high its torch during those Middle Ages, when its light was low and wavering in Europe, and where even now great movements and revivals seem to be preparing."

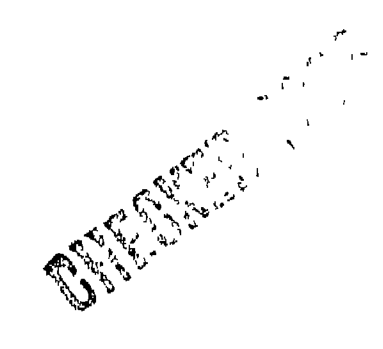
In the preparation of this second part of Volume LXVIII it has been the purpose to follow the plan and method of Dr. Ḥitti, and no deviations therefrom of material importance have been made. Foot-notes have been kept to a minimum, and the attempt has been made to refer mostly to works which the non-Arabist can make use of; but in cases where the meaning of the text was not clear, or the facts as stated were seriously at variance with other sources, references have been given to the more important Arabic historians and geographers.

With one exception (page 131) no emendations or alterations of the text as edited by De Goeje have been made or followed other than those included by that great Arabic scholar in his notes. References to Caetani's *Annali dell' Islâm* are given by year and section as being the most convenient in view of the chronological arrangement of that work. The abbreviation Meyn. is used for Barbier de Meynard's *Dictionnaire de la Perse;* LeStr. for G. Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate;* while references to volume i of *The Origins of the Islâmic State* are given under Ḥitti.

The indebtedness of the translator is gratefully acknowledged to Professors Gottheil and Worrell of Columbia for many suggestions which were incorporated in the manuscript and for reading the proof, and to Professor Popper of the University of California for assistance in solving many difficult problems.

F. C. Murgotten.

University of Nevada, February, 1924.



NOTE

In the short notice that I prefixed to the first part of al-Balâdhuri's history done into English by Dr. Ḥitti, I expressed my appreciation of the importance of making the chief documents dealing with the early history of the Arab people accessible to readers who were not in the knowledge of Arabic. Recent history has confirmed me in this appreciation.

Dr. Murgotten gives us in the following a translation of the second part. It had been his intention to publish it three years ago; but the war demanded his services overseas in the Near East; and it took some time before he was able to return and take up his work at the point where he had laid it down. Dr. Murgotten has labored with much care, often far from the tools which he needed so obviously. He has worked with much success; and I am sure that readers of Arabic will agree with me that the task—not always easy—has been done with faith and with care. As such I recommend it to those interested in this period of the world's history.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

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NORTHERN MEDIA

(AL-JIBÂL)



CHAPTER I

AR-RAI AND KUMAS

'Urwah "al-Bashîr". Al-'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his father from abu-Mikhnaf:—Two months after the 317 battle of Nihâwand, 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to 'Ammâr ibn-Yâsir, his *'âmil* over al-Kûfah, ordering him to send 'Urwah ibn-Zaid al-Khail aṭ-Ṭâ'i against ar-Rai [1] and Dastaba [2] with 8,000 men, which he did. 'Urwah went there, and the Dailamites,[3] supported by the people of ar-Rai, assembled against him. They engaged in battle with him, but Allah gave him the victory over them, and he slew and slaughtered them. Then he left his brother, Ḥanthalah ibn-Zaid, in charge, went to 'Ammâr, and asked to be sent to 'Umar. This was because he had been the one who had brought to 'Umar the news of the defeat at the Bridge,[4] and he wanted to bring him some cheering news. 'Umar, when he saw him, said, "Behold, to Allah we belong and unto him shall we return." [5] But 'Urwah said, "Nay, praise Allah rather, for he has helped us and given us the victory." And he told him his news. 'Umar said, "Why didst thou not stay and send a messenger?" He answered, "I left my brother in charge, for I wanted to come to thee myself." 'Umar surnamed him al-Bashîr (the bringer of good tidings).

[1] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 895; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 273 *et seq.*; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 214 *et seq.*

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 833; Meynard, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[3] Ḥitti, *Origins of the Islamic State*, vol. i, p. 441; LeStr., p. 172, *et seq.*

[4] Ḥitti, pp. 403 and 404.

[5] I. e. "Here comes bad news."

And 'Urwah said:

"I appeared to the people of al-Ḳâdisîyah with news.
Not every one who hides adversity will tell.
Once on a time in the shelter of the palm trees,
I fought and fled not, causing blood to flow and many a wound.
And at the battle with the Dailamites I surely learned
That when my face is turned to the foe, they have to flee,
Knowing full well that I am a man of zeal;
I am not found holding back; I press forward."

Al-Mundhir ibn-Ḥassân ibn-Ḍirâr, one of the banu-Mâlik ibn-Zaid, had a share in the slaying of Mihrân [1] at the battle of the Palm Trees (an-Nukhailah).[2]

Terms of peace. After 'Urwah's departure, Ḥudhaifah placed in command of his army Salamah ibn-'Amr ibn-Ḍirâr aḍ-Dabbi. (Others say al-Barâ' ibn-Âzib.) 'Urwah's victory had thoroughly confounded the Dailamites and the people of ar-Rai. Salamah besieged the castle of Farrukân [3] ibn-az-Zainabadi. (The Arabs call him az-Zainabi, and he was also called 'Ârîn.) Ibn-az-Zainabi made peace with Salamah after some fighting, the terms being that the inhabitants become *dhimmis*, paying *jizyah* and *kharâj*. 500,000 dirhams were given him on account of the people of ar-Rai and Ḳûmas [4] on condition that he should not kill nor enslave any of them nor raze any of their fire temples, and that they should be the same in regard to their *kharâj* as the people of Nihâwand. He also made terms with him for the people of Dastaba ar-Râzi. (For Dastaba was in two parts, the part towards ar-Rai, and the part toward Hamadhân.) Sulaimân [5] ibn-'Umar aḍ-Ḍabbi (or al-Barâ' ibn-Âzib) sent a

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[1] Ḥitti, p. 407.

[2] Battle of Nukhailah, Ḥitti, pp. 406 and 407.

[3] *Cf.* Ḳutaibah, p. 211; LeStr., p. 215.

[4] Or Ḳûmis. Yâḳût, vol. iv, pp. 203-204; Meyn., pp. 464-465; LeStr., pp. 364 *et seq.*

[5] Probably scribal error for Salamah ibn-'Amr.

troop of cavalry to Ḳûmas, where they met with no resistance, but captured also Abwâb ad-Dâmghân.[1]

Ar-Rai rebellious. Later when 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb removed 'Ammâr and appointed al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah over al-Kûfah, the latter appointed Kathîr ibn-Shihâb al-Ḥârithi over ar-Rai and Dastaba. Kathîr had distinguished himself at the battle of al-Kâdisîyah. When they got to ar-Rai, he found its people had rebelled, but he fought with them until they returned to obedience and paid up the *kharâj* and the *jizyah.* He also made a raid against the Dailam and a sudden attack, and a raid against al-Babar and aṭ-Ṭailasân.[2]

Kathîr ibn-Shihâb. Ḥafṣ ibn-'Umar al-'Umari from al-Haitham ibn-'Adi from ibn-Ayyâsh al-Hamadhâni and others:—Kathîr ibn-Shihâb was governor of ar-Rai, Dastaba, and Ḳazwîn. He was handsome and resolute, but crippled.[3] He used to say, "I am the only cripple who is not a burden on his family." On horseback his legs were as steady as two ploughs. When he made a raid, every one that was with him took a shield, breast-plate, iron helmet, a packing needle and five small needles, linen thread, awl, scissors, nose-bag, and basket. He was avaricious, and had a deep dish in front of him, and when anyone came up to him, he would say, "Be off with thee! Didst thou expect aught of what we are eating?" One day he said to his slave, "Give me something to eat." The slave answered, "I have nothing but bread and herbs." And Kathîr exclaimed, "Did I make war upon Persia and Greece only for bread and herbs?" He ruled ar-Rai and Dastaba for a while also in the time of Mu'âwiyah.

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[1] *Abwâb*=gates; perhaps forts at the entrance of the city. For Dâmghân *cf.* Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 539; Meyn. p. 223; LeStr., p. 364.

[2] Or Tâlashân. *Cf.* Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 271; Meyn., p. 401; LeStr., p. 312.

[3] Ṭabari says nothing about his deformity

Another rebellion. Sa'd ibn-abu-Waḳḳâs, when he was governor of al-Kûfah the second time, came to ar-Rai, which was in revolt, and brought it to terms, and raided the Dailamites. This was in the first part of the year 25. Then he withdrew.

Ar-Rai finally quieted. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Yaḥya ibn-Ḍarîs, the *ḳâdi* of ar-Rai:—Ar-Rai, after it was conquered in the days of Ḥudhaifah, kept breaking its covenant and being re-subdued, until it was finally conquered by Ḳaraṭhah ibn-Ka'b al-Anṣâri, when abu-Mûsa was governor [1] of al-Kûfah for 'Uthmân. And thereafter it remained quiet. Its governors used to live in the castle of az-Zanbadi, attending services in a mosque which was erected nearby it. It was incorporated within the outer wall (*faṣîl*) of al-Muḥadathah (i. e. al-Muḥammadîyah). They used to raid the Dailam from Dastaba. Ḳarathah ruled afterwards over al-Kûfah for 'Ali and died there, and 'Ali [blessed him i.e.] prayed at his funeral.

Yazîd ibn-Ḥajabah. 'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from his father who had the tradition from his grandfather:—'Ali appointed as governor over ar-Rai and Dastaba Yazîd ibn-Ḥajabah ibn-'Âmir ibn-Taimallâh ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Ukâbah, who misappropriated the *kharâj*. He was imprisoned but escaped and went over to the party of Mu'âwiyah.

Abu-Mûsa raided ar-Rai in person, its people having broken the covenant, and he reduced it on the former terms.

Al-Mahdi enlarges ar-Rai. Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad ar-Râzi:—The Commander of the Believers al-Mahdi came in the caliphate of al-Manṣûr and built the city of ar-Rai in which the people live today. He surrounded it with a moat and built in it a cathedral mosque. This was erected under the charge of 'Ammâr ibn-abu-l-Khaṣîb who inscribed his

[1] I. e. in the year 35 a. H. *Cf.* Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam* 26: 28 n. 1.

name on its wall and put the date of its construction the year 158. He made an outer wall (*faṣîl*) for it, enclosing therewith a reservoir made of burnt brick. He named it al-Muḥammadîyah, but the people of ar-Rai called the city ad-Dâkhilah (the inner) and named the *faṣîl* al-Madînah al-Khârijah (the outer city). The castle of az-Zanbadi was inside of al-Muḥammadîyah. Al-Mahdi ordered it to be repaired and lodged in it. It overlooked the cathedral mosque and the official residence. It was afterwards made a 320 prison.

There lived in ar-Rai after the building of the city the members of a family called the banu-l-Ḥarîsh.

In the days of the heathen the city of ar-Rai used to be called Arâza, and it is said that it went to ruin during heathen times. It was at a distance of six parasangs from al-Muḥammadîyah. The name ar-Rai comes from Arâza.

Al-Mahdi during the first part of his stay at ar-Rai lodged in a village called as-Sîrawân.[1]

Concerning the castle of al-Farrukhân the poet (i. e. al-Ghaṭammash ibn-al-A'war ibn-'Amr aḍ Ḍabbi) says:

> " Against the accursed castle in ar-Rai he shall not slacken.
> On its summit gleams the angel of death."

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Yaḥya ibn-Ḍarîs the *ḳâḍi* who says:—Ash-Sha'bi entered ar-Rai with Ḳutaibah ibn-Muslim and said to him, " What is thy favorite drink? " He replied, " That which is easiest to find and most costly to be in want of ".

Sa'îd ibn-Jubair also entered ar-Rai and met aḍ-Ḍaḥḥâk [2] and wrote an account of him.

'Amr ibn-Ma'dîkarib az-Zubaidi took part in the first raid of ar-Rai and after his departure he died and was buried

[1] LeStr., p. 202.

[2] Mas'ûdi, vol. ii, p. 114. LeStr., p. 371, spells the name aḍ-Ḍuḥḥâk.

above Rûdhah [1] and Bûsanah in a place named Kirmân-shâhân.[2]

In ar-Rai was buried al-Kisâ'i, the grammarian (his name being 'Ali ibn-Ḥamzah). He had arrived there with ar-Rashîd, who was on the way to Khurâsân.[3]

There died here also al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Arṭâh who had come with al-Mahdi. (His *kunyah* was abu-Arṭâh.)

Al-Kalbi says the castle of Jâbir in Dastaba is named after Jâbir, one of the banu-Zaibân ibn-Taimallâh ibn-Tha'labah.

Amount of tribute. The assessment of ar-Rai for 12,000,000 dirhems continued until al-Ma'mûn passed through there on his return to Madinat-as-Salâm from Khurâsân. He deducted 2,000,000 dirhams from their assessment and wrote a document to this effect for the people.

[1] Read "Rûdhah wa-Bûstat." *Cf.* Bakri, vol. i, p. 387; Caetani, 21:76, n. 3.

[2] LeStr. p. 187.

[3] In the year 192 a. H.

CHAPTER II

Conquest of Ḳazwin and Zanjân

Meaning of Ḳazwîn. I was told by some of the people of Ḳazwîn[1] and by Bakr ibn-al-Haitham on the authority of a scholar of the people of ar-Rai that the fortress of Ḳazwîn was called in Persian Kashwîn (its meaning being "the end that is looked to" i. e. "the observed"). Between it and ad-Dailam is a mountain on which the Persians had continually stationed some of their cavalry, to repel the Dailamites when there was not a truce between them and to guard their cities from robbers and such when there was a peace between them. Dastaba was divided between ar-Rai and Hamadhân, one part being called ar-Râzi and the other part al-Hamadhâni. 321

Ḳazwîn reduced. When al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah was governor of al-Kûfah, he appointed Jarîr ibn-'Abdallâh governor of Hamadhân and al-Barâ' ibn-'Âzib over Ḳazwîn, ordering the latter to go there and, if Allah subdued it through him, to raid the Dailamites from it. Before this they had only been raided from Dastaba. Al-Barâ', accompanied by Ḥanthalah ibn-Zaid al-Khail, went as far as Abhar,[1] whose fortress he took possession of, a fortress which some of the Persians had built near some springs. They had dammed the springs with hides of cattle and with wool and above them they had constructed a platform and had then built the fortress upon it.

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 88; Meyn., p. 441; LeStr., pp. 218-220.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 105; Meyn., p. 11; LeStr., p. 221.

After some resistance they asked al-Barâ' for terms and he made peace with them on the same conditions that Ḥudhaifah had made with the people of Nihâwand. After making peace with them in this way he subdued the lands of Abhar. Then he raided the people of the fortress of Ḳazwîn, who, when they saw that the Moslems were coming against them, sent to the Dailamites, asking them to help them. They promised that they would. Al-Barâ' and the Moslems took up a position in their suburbs and the Ḳazwîni made sorties to fight them. But as for the Dailamites, they took a stand on the mountains and did not raise a hand against the Moslems. When the besieged saw this, they asked for a truce, and were offered what the people of Abhar had been given, but they disliked the idea of the *jizyah* and professed Islâm. It is said that they settled down under the same sort of terms in regard to Islâm as did the Asâwirah of al-Baṣrah, namely, that they might make their abode with whomever they chose. They settled in al-Kûfah and became allies (clients[1]) of Zuhrah ibn-Ḥawiyyah. They took the name Ḥamrâ ad-Dailam. (Others say that they became Moslems and remained where they were and their lands became tithe-land.) 322

Al-Barâ' stationed among them at Ḳazwîn 500 of his Moslems (among them Ṭulaiḥah ibn-Khuwailid al-Asadi) to whom he made grants of lands to which no one had title.

Bakr says:—One of the inhabitants of Ḳazwîn recited to me some verses about his grandfather who was with al-Barâ':

"Ad-Dailam knew when they battled,
  What time ibn-'Âzib came with his forces,
That the thoughts of the polytheists were lies.
  How often we crossed in the darkness of the jungle
From mountain steep and from plain below."

[1] *Cf.* Margolioth's translation of Zaydan, *Umayyads and Abbâsids*, pp. 52-56, *et passim*.

Al-Barâ' raids ad-Dailam. He raided ad-Dailam until they paid him tribute. He raided also Jîlân and al-Babar and at-Ṭailasân, and conquered Zanjân [1] by force.

Raids by al-Walîd. Al-Walîd ibn-'Ukbah ibn-abu-Mu'aiṭ ibn-abu-'Amr ibn-Umaiyah when he was governor of al-Kûfah for 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân raided that part of ad-Dailam which is contiguous to Ḳazwîn. He raided also Adharbaijân, Jîlân, Mûḳân, al-Babar and at-Ṭailasân. Then he withdrew.

By Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi. Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi ibn-Umaiyah was governor after al-Walîd. He raided ad-Dailam, making Ḳazwîn his headquarters. It became the frontier (or fort) for the people of al-Kûfah, some of whom built homes there.

A choice of fronts. Aḥmad ibn-Ibrâhîm ad-Dawraḳi from Khalaf ibn-Tamîm from Zâ'idah ibn-Ḳudâmah from Ismâ'îl from Murrah al-Hamadhâni:—'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib said, "Whoever among you dislikes joining in our fight against Mu'âwiyah, let him take his wages and depart to ad-Dailam and fight against them." "I," says Murrah, "was among the company, and we took our wages and set out for ad-Dailam to the number of four or five thousand."

'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ al-'Ijli from ibn-Yamân from Sufyân, who says:—'Ali sent ar-Rabî' ibn-Khuthaim ath-Thauri to raid ad-Dailam, putting him in command of 4,000 Moslems.

Mosque of ar-Rabî'. From one of the people of Ḳazwîn:—In Ḳazwîn is the well known mosque of ar-Rabî' ibn-Khuthaim in which was a tree with which everyone used to rub himself. It is said that if a sprig from it was stuck in the ground, it would put forth leaves until a tree grew from it. The *'âmil* of Ṭâhir ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Ṭâhir cut it down in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers 323

[1] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 948; Meyn., p. 287; LeStr., pp. 221-222.

al-Mutawwakkil-'al'Allâh, fearing that the people might be led into superstition by it.

Mûsa al-Hâdi extends Kazwîn. When Mûsa al-Hâdi came to ar-Rai, he visited Ḳazwîn and ordered a city to be built in front of it. It is known as Madînah Mûsa.[1] He bought some land which was called Rustamâbâdh [2] and bequeathed it to the use of the city. 'Amr ar-Rûmi [3] his freedman used to have charge of it. Then after him Muḥammad ibn-'Amr had charge of it.

Al-Mubârak at-Turki built a stronghold called Madînat al-Mubârak [4] in which dwelt some of his freedmen.

Ar-Rashîd reduces the tribute. Muḥammad ibn-Hârûn al-Iṣbahâni told me that ar-Rashîd passed through Hamadhân on his way to Khurâsân and the people of Ḳazwin went to meet him and told him about their location with reference to the provinces of the enemy and the advantage of it in the event of his having to go to war with them. And they asked him to consider their cause and lessen the burden upon them of the excessive tithes of their produce. And so he commuted their tribute to an even 10,000 dirhams.

Zanjân becomes client of Al-Ḳâsim. Al-Ḳâsim, the son of the Commander of the Believers ar-Rashîd, was governor of Jurjân, Ṭabaristân, and Ḳâzwin. The people of Zanjân entrusted to him their villages, strengthening themselves through him, and defending themselves from the disgrace of beggary and from the oppression of the *'âmils* over them. They drew up for him written contracts [5] about this and became farmers for him. This land today is part of the royal domain.[6]

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 455; Meyn., p. 521.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 778; Meyn., p. 260.

[3] "The Greek.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 454; Meyn., p. 520.

[5] Ar. *al-ashriyah.* *Cf.* De Goeje, Glossary, p. 57.

[6] Ar. *aḍ-ḍiyâ'.* *Cf.* De Goeje, Gloss., p. 62.

Al-Ḳâḳizân. Al-Ḳâḳizân became tithe land because the people on it accepted Islâm and continued to cultivate it after their conversion. They entrusted it also to the protection of al-Ḳâsim, since they were paying to him a double tithe in addition to the tithe of the Bait al-Mâl. This land also came into the royal domain.

Dastaba united. Dastaba continued to be in two divisions, one attached to ar-Rai and the other to Hamadhân, until one of the Ḳazwînites belonging to banu-Tamîm and named Ḥanthalah ibn-Khâlid (his *kunyah* being abu-Mâlik) busied himself in the matter, with the result that it was all assigned to Ḳazwîn. One of the people of his province heard him say, "I fixed it up, as sure as my name is abu-Mâlik." The other replied, "Nay, thou didst mix it up, and thy name is abu-Hâlik (damned)."

Al-Ḥajjâj and the Dailam. On the authority of al-Madâ'ini and others. The Kurds were turbulent and troublesome at the time of the rebellion of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash'ath, and al-Ḥajjâj sent 'Amr ibn-Hâni' al-'Abasi against them with troops from Damascus. He fell upon them and killed some. Then he was ordered to raid ad-Dailam, which he did with 12,000 troops among whom were 80 of the banu-'Ijl and their freedmen from al-Kûfah. One of these was Muḥammad ibn-Sinân al-'Ijli. 324

A dubious pedigree. 'Auf ibn-Aḥmad al-'Abdi from abu-Ḥanash al-'Ijli from his father, who says:—I was acquainted with a member of the Tamîm al-'Ijli who were sent by al-Ḥajjâj to garrison the frontier of ad-Dailam, and he told me, saying, "I saw one of the *mawâli* of the banu-'Ijl who claimed to be a direct descendant from him (i. e. from 'Ijl). And I said, 'Thy father did not try to trace among the Arabs his descent but rather among the Persians. How then dost thou assert that thou art 'Ijl's direct descendant?' He replied, 'My mother told me so.' And I said, 'She is to be believed. She knows better than thy father.'"

Suburbs of Kazwîn. Muhammad ibn-Sinân al-'Ijli first settled in one of the cities of Dastaba. Later he removed to Ḳazwîn and built a residence in its suburbs. The people of the border remonstrated with him, saying, "Thou exposest thyselt to destruction and us to weakness if the enemy do thee harm." But he did not pay any attention to their words, and had his son and his household build with him outside of the city. Then emigrants came later and built, so that the city was surrounded with suburbs.

Later conquests. Abu-Dulaf al-Ḳâsim ibn-'Îsa raided ad Dailam in the caliphate of al-Ma'mûn, and in the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim-billâh he was governor at the time that al-Afshîn was ruler of al-Jibâl. He captured some castles, among them being Aḳlîsim, whose inhabitants surrendered on condition of paying tribute; Nûwaj,[1] which he conquered by force, but later its inhabitants made terms, agreeing to pay tribute; al-Iblam, and Andâḳ,[2] among others.

Another besides abu-Dulaf made a raid against al-Afshîn and also captured some castles of ad-Dailam.

When the year 253 came, the Commander of the Believers, al-Mu'tazz-billâh, sent his freedman, Mûsa, son of Bugha-l-Ḳabîr, against the Tâlibîyûn that had appeared in ad-Dailam and the regions of Ṭabaristân. The Dailamites had protected one of them, known as al-Kaukabi. Mûsa raided the Dailamites penetrating far into their territory. They offered some resistance, but he attacked them fiercely, pressing them hard and vexing them sorely.

The Three Cronies. One of the inhabitants of Ḳazwîn 325 told me that in Râwand of the province of Iṣbahân are the graves of the famous boon companions. The poet says:

"Know ye not that I am all alone in Râwand?"

[1] Perhaps read "Bûwaj."

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 372; Meyn., p. 54.

[3] Bakri, *s. v. Khazāḳ*: Al-Asdi says:—

Know ye not that I have not in all Râwand
Nor in Khazâḳ any friend but you two?

'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ al-'Ijli says:—It has come to my knowledge that there were in the army of al-Ḥajjâj which he sent to ad-Dailam, three individuals of the inhabitants of al-Kûfah, who used to drink together, not associating with anyone else. One of them died suddenly. His two companions buried him and used to drink by his grave, and when his cup was brought, they would pour it on his grave and weep. Afterwards the second one died, and the remaining one buried him by the side of the first, and used to sit by the two graves and drink, and then pour a cup upon the grave which was near him, and then a cup upon the other, and weep. And one day he made up some verses, saying,

"My friends, arise! Ye sleep too long!
Verily will ye ne'er end your slumbers?
Know ye not that I am all alone in Ḳazwîn,
Nor have I here any friends but you?
I stay always by your graves, departing not
The night long. Unless your echo answer me,
I shall weep all my life for you. What is there that
Shall prevent my broken heart from weeping for you?"

Not long afterwards he died and was buried near his two comrades and their graves are known as the graves of the Boon Companions.

PART XII
ADHARBAIJÂN

CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF ADHARBAIJÂN

Conquered by Ḥudhaifah. Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Amr al-Ardabîli from Wâḳid al-Ardabîli from certain *shaikhs* who had heard[1] that:—when al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah came to al-Kûfah as governor for 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, he brought a letter to Ḥudhaifah ibn-al-Yamân giving the latter the governorship of Adharbaijân[2] which letter he delivered to him at Nihâwand or in the neighborhood thereof. Ḥudhaifah advanced as far as Ardabîl,[3] the capital of Adharbaijân, in which city was the satrap (*marzubân*) thereof, and where the payment of its tax was made. The *marzubân* had gathered there the militia from the people of Bâjarwân,[4] Mîmadh,[5] an-Narîr,[6] Sarât,[7] ash-Shîz,[8] al-Mayânij,[9] and other places. These resisted the Moslems fiercely for some days. Then the *marzubân* made terms with Hudhaifah for all the people of Adharbaijân for 326

[1] I. e. the line of tradition is broken.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 171-174; Meyn., p. 14; LeStr., chap. xi.

[3] Yâḳût,, vol. i, p. 197; Meyn., p. 21; LeStr., p. 168.

[4] In Mûḳân. *Cf.* Yâḳût, *vol.* i, p. 328; Meyn., p. 74; LeStr., p. 175.

[5] Yâḳüt, vol. iv, pp. 717-718; Meyn., 557.

[6] Perhaps Narîz. *Cf.* Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 775.

[7] Or Sarâw, for Persian Sarâb. *Cf.* Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 64; LeStr., p. 168; Ya'ḳûbi, p. 47.

[8] The district of which Urmiyah was the capital. *Cf.* Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 353; Meyn., p. 367; LeStr., p. 224.

[9] Or Mîyânah. *Cf.* Yâḳût, vol. iv, 710; Meyn., p. 554; LeStr., pp. 169-170.

800,000 dirhams (weight 8), the conditions being that he should not kill nor enslave any of them, nor raze any fire temples, nor expose them to danger from the Kurds of al-Balâsajân,[1] Sablân [2] and Sâtrûdân,[3] nor hinder the people of ash-Shîz in their peculiar custom of dancing on their festal days nor in observing their usual observances. Later Ḥudhaifah raided Mûkân [4] and Jîlân [5] and overwhelmed them, and settled with them for a payment of tribute.

'Utbah succeeds him. 'Umar afterwards removed Ḥudhaifah and appointed as governor of Adharbaijân 'Utbah ibn-Farḳad as-Sulami, who went there from al-Mauṣil. (Others say that he went there from Shahrazûr along the level plain which is known today as Mu'âwiyah al-Audi.) When he arrived at Ardabîl he found its people in possession of a treaty, but some of them had broken it, so he raided them, defeating and plundering them. With him was 'Amr ibn-'Utbah az-Zâhid.

Under Mughîrah. Al-Wâkidi relates with his usual *isnâd* that al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah raided Adharbaijân from al-Kûfah in the year 22, finally succeeding in conquering the place by force, and laying upon it the *kharâj*.

Ibn-al-Kalbi relates on the authority of abu-Mikhnaf that al-Mughîrah raided Adharbaijân in the year 20 and conquered it. Later its people rebelled, and al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais al-Ḳindi raided them and conquered the fortress of Bâjarwân. He made the same terms with them that al-Mughîrah

[1] Perhaps Balâshajân. *Cf.* Yâḳût, i, p. 454; but see also Ḥitti, p. 319, n. 1.

[2] The Sablân Mts. Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 34, 64, 353; Meyn., p. 300; LeStr., p. 168.

[3] Yâḳût, vol. iv, pp. 708, 717, has Miyân Rûdhân.

[4] Persian Mûghân. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 686; Meyn., p. 548; LeStr., pp. 175-176.

[5] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 179; Meyn., p. 187; LeStr., pp. 172 *et seq.*

had made, and the treaty of al-Ash-'ath has lasted up to today.

Abu-Mikhnaf Lûṭ ibn-Yaḥya was accustomed to say that 'Umar appointed Sa'd governor, then 'Ammâr, then al-Mughîrah, then Sa'd again. In the year in which he died the *Wâli* [1] of the *'âmirs* of the provinces wrote to him (Sa'd) to come to al-Madînah, and in that way Sa'd was present at the council, and recommended to the successor to the caliphate that he himself be sent back to his province.

Another authority says that 'Umar died while al-Mughîrah was his governor over al-Kûfah, and that he suggested the appointment of Sa'd over al-Kûfah and abu-Mûsa over al-Baṣrah. 'Uthmân appointed them both, but later dismissed them. 327

The army composed of Kûfans. Al-Madâ'ini from 'Ali ibn-Mujâhid from Muḥammad ibn-Isḥâḳ from az-Zuhri:—When Allah overthrew the Persians [2] at Nihâwand, [most of] the people returned to their provinces, but the Kûfans remained with Ḥudhaifah and raided Adharbaijân. They made peace with him for 100,000 [3] [dirhams].

'Umar rejects a present. Al-Madâ'ini 'Ali ibn-Mujâhid from 'Âṣim, the "squint-eyed", from abu-'Uthmân an-Nahdi:—'Umar removed Ḥudhaifah from Adharbaijân and placed in charge of it 'Utbah ibn-Farḳad as-Sulami. The latter sent him some sweet-meats which he had wrapped in cotton cloths. But when they reached 'Umar he said, "Is it money?" They said, "No." "Then what is it?" he asked. "A gift which he has sent," was the reply. And when he had looked at it he said, "Send it back to him." And he wrote to him, "O son of Umm-'Utbah, verily, thou eatest sweetmeats not the fruit of thy toil nor of thy father's toil."

[1] I. e. 'Umar.

[2] Lit. "the polytheists."

[3] A scribal error for 800,000 corrected on the margin of one of the mss.

'Utbah says, " I left Adharbaijân on an embassy to 'Umar and found him eating gristly camel flesh."

Uthmân appoints al-Walîd. Al-Madâ'ini from 'Abdallâh ibn-al-Ḳâsim from Farwah ibn-Laḳîṭ:—When 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân became caliph, he appointed al-Walîd ibn-Ukbah ibn-abu-Mu'ait *'âmil* and removed 'Utbah from Adharbaijân. And when they broke the convenant, al-Walîd raded them in the year 25, in command of his vanguard being 'Abdallâh ibn-Shibl al-Aḥmasi. He also made a raid upon the inhabitants of Mûḳân, al-Babar and aṭ-Ṭailasân, plundering and making captives. Upon being asked for peace by the inhabitants of the villages of Adharbaijân, he made a treaty with them upon the terms of that of Ḥudhaifah.

'Ali appoints Sa'îd. Ibn-al-Kalbi says:—'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib appointed over Adharbaijân Sa'îd ibn-Sâriyah al-Khuzâ'i. Then al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais al-Kindi.

Variant versions. 'Abdallâh ibn-Mu'adh al-'Abḳari from his father from Sa'd ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-'Utbah from Zaid ibn-Wahb, who says:—When Allah overthrew the Persians at Nihâwand, the people of al-Ḥijâz and of al-Baṣrah returned to their respective provinces, while Ḥudhaifah stayed at Nihâwand with the Kûfans and raided Adharbaijân. They made peace with him for 800,000 dirhams.

To these Kûfans 'Umar wrote, " Behold, ye are in a land the food and clothing of whose people is infected with death. So do not eat except what is legally slaughtered, nor wear except what is ceremonially clean." He was referring to the fur garments. 328

Al-'Abbâs ibn-al-Walîd an-Narsi from 'Abd-al-Wâḥid from Ziyâd from 'Âṣim, the " squint-eyed ", from abu-'Uthmân an-Nahdi, who says:—I was with 'Utbah ibn-Farḳad when he conquered Adharbaijân. He made up two baskets of sweetmeats, covering them with leather and felt; then he sent them to 'Umar by Suhaim, the freedman of

'Utbah. When the latter came to him 'Umar said, "What is it thou bringest? Gold? or silver?" At his command it was opened for him, and he tasted the sweetmeats, and said, "Verily, this is good. Tell me, have all of the emigrants eaten of it in plenty?" Suhaim replied, "No. It is only something prepared especially for thee." And 'Umar wrote, "From the servant of Allah, 'Umar, the Commander of the Believers, to 'Utbah ibn-Farkad:— . . . . It is not the fruit of thy toil, nor of thy mother's, nor of thy father's. We eat only what the Moslems have plenty of in their homes."

Al-Ash'ath quells a revolt. Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Amr and Aḥmad ibn-Muṣliḥ al-Azdi from certain learned men of the people of Adharbaijân, who says:—Al-Walîd ibn-'Uḳbah came to Adharbaijân accompanied by al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais, whom the former, when he departed, appointed over Adharbaijân. The city revolted, and he wrote to al-Walîd asking for reinforcements. He sent him a strong force of Kûfans, and al-Ash'ath went about to *ḥân* after *ḥân* (*ḥân* is 'garden" in the language of Adharbaijân) and subdued them upon the same terms as Ḥudhaifah and 'Utbah ibn-Farḳad. He colonized the districts with Arabs who were enrolled in the pension lists (*'aṭâ'*) and the register (*dîwân*) and whom he ordered to summon the people to become Moslems.

Sa'îd subdues Mûḳan and Jîlân. Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi was later appointed governor.[1] He raided the people of Adharbaijân and overwhelmed the inhabitants of Mûḳân and Jîlân. There assembled against him in the neighborhood of Urm [2] and Baluwânkarḥ a number of Armenians and Adharbaijânites against whom he sent Jarîr ibn-'Abdallâh al-Bajali. He put them to rout, seized their leader and crucified him upon the fortress of Bâjarwân. 329

Other authorities say that Ash-Shammâkh ibn-Ḍirâr ath-

[1] In the year 30 A. H.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, 216; Meyn., p. 26.

Tha'labi was with Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi on this raid, as was also Bukair ibn-Shaddâd ibn-'Âmir the rider of Aṭlâl. Of him ash-Shammâkh says:

> "I have heard sung of the horseman in Mûkân that submitted
> To Bukair of the banu-Shuddâkh the rider of Aṭlâl." [1]

He belonged to the banu-Kinânah, and it was he who heard a Jew in the caliphate of 'Umar recite the verses—

> "Ah! Ash'ath! Islâm hath diverted his attention from me.
> The livelong night have I whiled away with his wife."

Thereupon al-Ash'ath killed him.

Al-Ash'ath becomes governor. Then 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib appointed al-Ash'ath governor of Adharbaijân. When he arrived there he found that the greater part of them had accepted Islâm and read the Ḳurân. He established in Ardabîl a number of Arabs who were enrolled in the pension lists and the register, and made it a capital city, and built its mosque (except that it was afterwards amplified).

[1] The name of a famous horse. *Cf.* Duraid, 106, 17-18.

CHAPTER II

VILLAGES AND TOWNS

Colonists. Al-Ḥusain ibn-ʻAmr from Wâḳid:—When the Arabs settled in Adharbaijân, their families were eager to come to them from al-Kûfah, al-Baṣrah, and Syria, and every person seized possession of whatever he could, though some bought lands from the Persians. To these Arabs the villages turned for protection, and the [native] inhabitants became cultivators of the soil for them.

Warthân. Al-Ḥusain adds:—Warthân[1] was a vaulted bridge like the bridges of Waḥsh and Arshaḳ which became proverbial in the days of Bâbak. Marwân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam built it, cultivated its land, fortified it, and it became his property. Later it was confiscated together with the other estates of the banu-Umaiyah that were confiscated, and it became the possession of Umm-Jaʻfar Zubaidah bint-Jaʻfar, son of the Commander of the Believers, al-Manṣûr. The managers of it razed its walls. Then it was restored and strengthened shortly after. Al-Warthâni was one of its *mawâli.*

Barzand. Barzand[2] was a village where al-Afshîn Ḥaidar ibn-Kâwus, the *ʻâmil* of the Commander of the Believers, al-Muʻtaṣim-billâh, over Adharbaijân, Armenia, and al-Jabal, had encamped in the days when he made war upon the infidel Bâbak al-Khurrami. He fortified it. 330

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 919, l. 14 *et seq.*; Meyn., p. 587; LeStr., pp. 176. 177, 230.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 562; Meyn., p. 93; LeStr., pp. 175, 176.

Al-Marâghah. Al-Marâghah[1] used to be called Aḳrâhrûdh. Marwân ibn-Muḥammad, while he was governor of Armenia and Adharbaijân, made a camp there as a place of withdrawal from raiding Mûḳân, Jîlân and the vicinity thereof. There was much manure in it, for his beasts and those of his followers used to wallow there. So they came to say, "Come to the village of al-Marâghah". Later people cut off the word "village" and said "al-Marâghah". Its inhabitants sought the protection of Marwân, who built it it up, and whose agents were on friendly relations with the people. Their number increased in it to the utmost and it became very populous. Later it was confiscated together with the other estates of the banu-Umaiyah that were confiscated, and it became the possession of one of the daughters of ar-Rashîd, the Commander of the Believers.

When al-Wajnâ' al-Azdi and Ṣadaḳah ibn-'Ali, the freedman of the Azd, defected and stirred up trouble while Khuzaimah ibn-Khâzim ibn-Khuzaimah was governor of Armenia and Adharbaijân in the caliphate of ar-Rashîd, Khuzaimah built its wall and fortified it, making it his headquarters, and establishing there a scratch army. Later, when Bâbak al-Khurrami obtained the mastery of al-Badhdh,[1] the people fled to al-Marâghah and lodged there, fortifying themselves therein. Its wall was pulled down in the days of al-Ma'mûn by some of his *'âmils,* among them Aḥmad ibn-al-Junaid ibn-Farzandi and 'Ali ibn-Hishâm. Later people settled in its suburbs and it was fortified again.

Marand. As for Marand,[1] it was a small village which Ḥalbas abu-l-Ba'îth settled. Later al-Ba'îth fortified it. Then [came] his son Muḥammad ibn-al-Ba'îth, who also

[1] *Ḳariyat-al-Marâghah*=the village of the wallowing-place. *Cf.* Yâḳût, vol. iv, pp. 476, 477; Meyn., pp. 521, 522; LeStr., p. 164.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 529; Meyn., 87.

[3] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 513; Meyn., p. 524; LeStr., p. 166.

built in it some castles.In the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mutawakkil-'al'-Allâh, he revolted, and Bughâ the Less, the freedman of the Commander of the Believers, made war on him, finally triumphing over him and carrying him to Sarra-man-ra'a, and razing the rampart of Marand (i. e. of the citadel).

Al-Ba'ith was one of the children of 'Atîb ibn-'Amr ibn-Wahb ibn-Afṣa ibn-Du'mi ibn-Jadîlah ibn-Asad ibn-Rabî'ah. Others say of 'Atîb ibn-'Auf ibn-Sinân, and the 'Utbîyûn agree to this. Allah knows best.

Urmîyah. As for Urmiyah,[1] it was an ancient city in regard to which the Magians (*Majûs*) assert that their founder Zaradusht was from it. Ṣadaḳah ibn-'Ali ibn-Ṣadaḳah ibn-Dînâr, the freedman of the Azd, made war against its inhabitants, finally entering and subduing it. He and his brothers built in it some castles. 331

Tibrîz. As for Tibrîz,[2] ar-Rawwâd al-Azdi settled it; then al-Wajnâ' ibn-ar-Rawwâd. He and his brothers built some buildings in it and fortified it with a wall. And people began to settle there with him.

Mayânij and Khalbâthâ. As for al-Mayânij and Khalbâthâ, they were settlements of people from Hamadân. 'Abdallâh ibn-Ja'far al-Hamdâni built his quarter in al-Mayânij, and the Sultân set up in it a *minbar*.

Barzah. As for the district of Barzah,[3] it belonged to the Aud, and the greater part of it to one member of that tribe, who gathered people to it and built in it a fort. In the year 239 a *minbar* was erected in it in spite of opposition on the part of the Audi.

Narîr. As for Narîr, it was a place which had an ancient

[1] Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 218, 219; Meyn., p. 26; LeStr., p. 165.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 823; Meyn., p. 132; LeStr., pp. 159-163.

[3] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 563, l. 16; Meyn., p. 94; LeStr., p. 165.

ruined castle. Murr ibn-'Amr al-Mauṣili aṭ-Ṭâ'i settled there and built in it and established his children there. Later they themselves built in it some castles and made a city of it. They also built Sûḳ Jâbrawân [1] and enlarged it. The Sultân put it under their jurisdiction, and they used to govern it themselves without caring a jot for the *'âmil* of Adharbaijân.

Sarât. And as for Sarât, there were in it many people from Kindah [2] one of which people there told me that he was one of the children of a man who was with Al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais al-Kindi.

[1] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 2; Meyn., p. 147.

[2] A tribe. *Cf.* Mas'ûdi, vol. iii, p. 222. Also a quarter in al-Kûfah. *Cf. op. cit.* vol. v, p. 136.

PART XIII
MOSUL (AL-MAUṢIL)

CHAPTER I

Mosul

Nineveh and surrounding villages. 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb appointed 'Utbah ibn-Farkad as-Sulami governor of al-Mauṣil in the year 20. The people of Nînawa[1] fought with him, but he seized their fort (i. e. the eastern one) by force and crossed the Dijlah (Tigris). The people of the other fort made peace with him on condition of giving *jizyah,* with permission that whoever preferred, might depart with those who emigrated. He found in the territory of al-Mauṣil some monasteries the inmates of which secured peace from him by giving the *jizyah.*

'Utbah afterwards conquered al-Marj[2] and its villages, the land of Bâhudhra,[3] Bâ'adhra,[4] Ḥibtûn,[5] al-Hiyânah,[6] al-Ma'allah,[7] Dâmîr, and all the strongholds of the Kurds. He advanced as far as Bân'âtha[8] of Ḥazzah[9] and conquered it. 332

[1] The two forts were called simply al-Ḥisnain by the Arabs; *cf.* Athîr, vol. ii, p. 408, l. 11 *et seq.* According to Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2474 *et seq.*, they were reduced in the year 16. *Cf.* Athîr, vol. ii, pp. 407-408; Dhahabi Paris, vol. i, p. 132; but see Caetani's note to 18: 110. *Cf.* also Mas'ûdi, vol. ii, pp. 92 *et seq.*; LeStr., pp. 87-89.

[2] "The Meadow," i. e. Marj Juhainah on the Tigris south of Mosul. LeStr., p. 90; Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 488.

[3] Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 683.

[4] Yâkût, vol. i, p. 472.

[5] Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 193.

[6] Defremery reads al-Hannânah.

[7] Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 683.

[8] DeGoeje reads Bâ'ainâtha; *cf.* Bakri, *s. v.*; Hoffmann, *Anzüge,* p. 193; Yâkût, vol. i, p. 472.

[9] I have been unable to identify this name.

Sâlih ibn-'Ubâdah al-Hamdâni, chief of the mounted patrol [1] of al-Mausil went against Tall-ash-Shahârijah and the Salak [2] (a tribe known also as the banu-l-Harrîn) and conquered this place completely, and the Moslems sacked it.

Urmiyah. Mu'âfa ibn-Tâwus from some of the learned of al-Mausil:—Urmiyah [3] was part of the conquest of al-Mausil, having been conquered by 'Utbah ibn-Farkad, and its *kharâj* being at one time paid to al-Mausil. Such also was the case with al-Hûr,[4] Khuwi,[5] and Salmâs.[6]

Mu'âfa says:—I have also heard that 'Utbah conquered it (Urmiyah) when he was governor of Adharbaijân.[7] Allah knows best.

Founding of Mosul. Al-'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his father from his grandfather:—The first to plot out al-Mausil [8] and to settle the Arabs there and to make it a chief city [9] was Harthamah ibn-'Arfajah al-Bâriki.

Abu-Mûsa al-Harawi from abu-l-Fadl al-Ansâri from abu-l-Muhârit ad-Dabbi:—'Umar ibn-al-Khattâb removed 'Utbah from al-Mausil and appointed thereover Harthamah ibn-'Arfajah al-Bâriki. In the place [at this time] was the castle, churches of the Christians, a few dwellings of theirs near these churches, and the Jews' quarter. Harthamah made a chief city of it, settled the Arabs in their own dwellings, apportioning holdings for them, and later built the cathedral mosque.

[1] Ar. *râbitah.*

[2] Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 119.

[3] See *supra*, p. 27, note 1.

[4] DeGoeje suggests reading al-Kharaz, and refers to Meyn., p. 220, n.

[5] Or Khawi; Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 502; Meyn., p. 220; LeStr. p. 166.

[6] Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 120; Meyn., pp. 315-316; LeStr., p. 166. DeGoeje reads Salamâs.

[7] In the year 22.

[8] Made a military camp in the year 20.

[9] *Cf.* Duraid, p. 282. Ar. *massaraha. cf.* Hitti, p. 220, note 1.

Pavement and walls. Al-Mu'âfa ibn-Ṭâwus:—The one who paved al-Mauṣil with stone was ibn-Talîd, master of the guard of Muḥammad ibn-Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam who was governor of al-Mauṣil, al-Jazîrah, Arminiyah, and Adharbaijân.

Al-Wâḳidi says:—'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân appointed his son Sa'îd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân (after whom Nahr Sa'îd was named) governor of al-Mauṣil, and his brother, Muḥammad, governor of al-Jazîrah and Arminiyah. Sa'îd built the wall of al-Mauṣil (i. e. the one which ar-Rashîd pulled down when he passed through there because of their rebellion just before). Sa'îd also paved it with stone.

From some of the inhabitants of Bâbaghîsh:[1]—The Moslems sought an opportunity of taking the inhabitants of a certain region bordering on Dâmîr (called Zarân) while off their guard, and accordingly attacked them on one of their festal days when they did not have their weapons with them. Taking a position between them and their fortress, they captured it.

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Building of Ḥadîthah. When Harthamah laid out al-Mauṣil and settled the Arabs there, he went to the site of al-Ḥadîthah,[2] where there was an ancient village in which were two churches and the houses of the Christians, and made it a city and settled some of the Arabs there. It was named al-Ḥadîthah ("the new") because it was later than al-Mauṣil. He also built a castle near by it.

Another version. Others say that Harthamah settled down at al-Ḥadîthah first, made it a city, and laid it out before al-Mauṣil, and that it was only named al-Ḥadîthah when certain of the inhabitants of al-Anbâr removed thither after ibn-ar-Rufail became their governor and oppressed

[1] Meyn., p. 21.

[2] LeStr., pp. 90-91.

them in the days of al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf. Among them were some people of Ḥadithah of al-Anbâr. They built a mosque there and named the city al-Ḥâdîthah.

Ṭîrhân and Takrît. 'Utbah ibn-Farkad subdued aṭ-Ṭîrhân [1] and Takrît,[2] granting *amân* to the inhabitants of Takrît for their persons and their property. He also entered the region of Bâjarma.[3] Then he went to Shahrazûr.

A *sheikh* of the people of Takrît told me that they had a written *amân* and convenant, but al-Jurashi tore it up when he devastated the villages of al-Mauṣil, Narsâbâdh, Hâ'alah, and the environs [4] thereof.

Al-Ḥaitham ibn-'Adi asserts that 'Iyâḍ ibn-Ghanm, when he conquered Balad,[5] went to al-Mauṣil and reduced one of the two forts. Allah knows best.

[1] LeStr., p. 55; Hitti, p. 400.

[2] LeStr., pp. 25, 57, 84, 87; Hitti, *loc. cit.*

[3] Yâkût, vol. i, p. 454; Hitti, p. 422.

[4] Ar. *dhawâtaha.*

[5] LeStr., p. 99; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2597, l. 5; Hitti, p. 277.

CHAPTER II

SHAHRAZUR, AS-ṢÂMAGHÂN, AND DARÂBÂDH

Conquered by 'Utbah. Isḥâḳ ibn-Sulaimân ash-Shahrazûri from his father from Muḥammad ibn-Marwân from al-Kalbi from a member of the clan of 'Azrah al-Bajali:—'Azrah ibn-Ḳais tried to conquer Shahrazûr[1] while he was *wâli* over Ḥulwân in the caliphate of 'Umar, but was unable to accomplish it. 'Utbah ibn-Farḳad raided it and reduced it after battle, granting similar terms to those of Ḥulwân. Some of the Moslems died in consequence of being stung by scorpions.

Isḥâḳ from his father from their teachers:—The inhabitants of aṣ-Ṣâmaghân[2] and Darâbâdh[3] surrendered to 'Utbah, agreeing to pay *jizyah* and *kharâj* on condition that they be neither put to death nor enslaved nor prevented from traveling wherever they pleased.

Abu-Rajâ' al-Ḥulwâni from his father from the *sheikhs* of Shahrazûr:—Shahrazûr, aṣ-Ṣâmaghân, and Darâbâdh were among the conquest of 'Utbah ibn-Farḳad as-Sulami. He met the Kurds in combat and killed many of them, and wrote to 'Umar, " In my conquests I have reached as far as Adharbaijân." 'Umar appointed him governor over that region,[4] and appointed Harthamah ibn-'Arfajah over al-Mauṣil.

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 340; Meyn., pp. 356-358; LeStr., pp. 90, 190, 224; Hitti, p. 422.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 364; Meyn., p. 371.

[3] Written also Ardâbâd. See *Merâcid, Add.*, vol. v, p. 398.

[4] I. e. Adharbaijân, giving him authority to invade and conquer it.

Made a separate province. Shahrazûr and its district continued to be included with al-Mauṣil until it was divided at the end of the caliphate of ar-Rashîd. But [thereafter] Shahrazûr, aṣ-Ṣâmaghân, and Darâbâdh were ruled by a governor of their own. The governor's salary was 200 dirhams for each of the districts of al-Mauṣil, and so there was apportioned for [the governor of] these [three] districts 600 dirhams.

PART XIV

JURJÂN AND ṬABARISTÂN AND THEIR DISTRICTS

CHAPTER I

Racing to Khurâsân. In the year 29[1] 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân appointed over al-Kûfah Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi ibn-'Umaiyah. The satrap (*marzubân*) of Ṭûs wrote to him and to 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir ibn-Kuraiz ibn-Rabî'ah ibn-Ḥasîb ibn-'Abd-Shams, governor of al-Baṣrah, inviting them to Khurâsân and promising to appoint to rule over it whichever of the two should be the first to gain possession. Both ibn-'Âmir and Sa'îd set out for the place, but ibn-'Âmir was the quicker. So Sa'îd raided Ṭabaristân,[2] the two sons of 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, being with him it is said.

Others say that Sa'îd raided Ṭabaristân without having received any letter from anybody, starting on his expedition from al-Kûfah. And Allah knows best.

Sa'îd's conquests. Sa'îd conquered Ṭamîsah[3] and Nâminah[4] (a village), and made peace with the ruler of Jurjân[5] for 200,000 dirhams (Some say for 300,000), *baghlîyah*[6] *wâfîyah*.[7] He distributed the money to the

[1] A. D. 650. *Cf.* Abulfeda, vol. ii, p. 262. But Wellhausen, *Sk. u. Vor.*, vol. vi, p. 117, dates the deposition of al-Walîd ibn-'Uḳbah in 30 a. H.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 501 *et seq.*; Meyn., p. 380; LeStr., pp. 368-376.

[3] LeStr., p. 375.

[4] Perhaps Nâmiyah. LeStr., p. 375. But *cf.* Meyn., pp. 559, 383; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2837; Iṣṭakhri, 216 g.; Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 504, l. 10.

[5] Yâḳût, vol. ii, pp. 48 *et seq.*; Meyn., pp. 154 *et seq.*; LeStr., pp. 376-381.

[6] Ar. *baghlîyah*. *Cf.* De Sacy, *Traité des monnaies*, p. 6; DeGoeje, Gloss., p. 17; Dozy, *s. v.*; also appendix iv.

[7] Ar. *wâfîyeh*, i. e. Persian dirhams of full weight.

Moslem soldiers who took part in the fighting. Sa'îd conquered also the plain of Ṭabaristân, ar-Rûyân [1] and Dunbâwand.[2] The people of al-Jibâl paid money to him.

The Moslems kept raiding Ṭabaristân and its territory and the people paid tribute, sometimes voluntarily,[3] and sometimes after battle.

Maṣḳalah's disaster. Mu'âwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân appointed over Ṭabaristân Maṣḳalah ibn-Hubairah ibn-Shabal of the banu-Tha'labah ibn-Shaibân ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Ukâbah. All its people were turbulent, and had collected 10,000 men (other authorities say 20,000). The enemy tricked him by showing fear before him until he had penetrated with his force far into the country; but when they approached the mountain passes, the enemy seized these against them, and rolled rocks down from the mountain upon their heads, and this whole army was destroyed. Maṣḳalah perished also, and they made a proverb about him, saying, "Until Maṣḳalah returns from Ṭabaristân." [4]

Defeat of ibn-al-Ash'ath. Then 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân appointed Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais al-Kindi over Ṭabaristân. He made peace with them and gave them a convent. They made a show of submissiveness to him until he had entered, when they seized the passes against him and killed his son, abu-Bakr, and mutilated him. He managed to escape himself and the Moslems continued to raid those passes, but were cautious of entering deep into the land of the enemy.

Campaigns of Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab. 'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his father from abu-Mikhnaf and

[1] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 873; Meyn., p. 268; LeStr., pp. 373-374.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 606; Meyn., pp. 236 *et seq.*; LeStr., p. 371. Later called Damâwand.

[3] I. e. without resistance. *Cf.* Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1322, l. 16.

[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1322, l. 8.

others:—When Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân became ruler, he appointed Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣafrah over al-'Irâḳ. He set out for Khurâsân, because of the hostility and disagreement that had come up between Sulaiman and Ḳutaibah ibn-Muslim. Wakî' ibn-abu-Sûd at-Tamîmi killed Ḳutaibah.

While he was on his way towards Khurâsân, his attention was drawn to Ṣûl the Turk, and he wrote to Sulaimân asking for permission to attack him. It was granted. So he raided Jîlân and Sâriyah.[1] Then he went to Dihistân,[2] where Ṣûl was, and invested it. He had with him a scratch army of Mesopotamians, Syrians and people of Khurâsân. The inhabitants of Dihistân kept making sorties and attacking them, but Yazîd pressed hard upon them and cut off their supplies from them. Then Ṣûl sent to Yazîd, asking for peace and offering to deliver up to him the city and its people and all that was in it on condition that Yazîd guarantee him his life and property and his household. Yazîd granted this and accepted the terms which Ṣûl fulfilled. Yazîd put to death 14,000 of the Turks and appointed a lieutenant to govern the city.

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Abu-'Ubaidah Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that Ṣûl was killed, but the first account is more probable.

Hishâm al-Kalbi says:—Yazîd went to Jurjân and the people thereof met him with tribute which Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi had arranged for with them, and he accepted it. The inhabitants of Jurjân later broke their treaty and acted with treachery, so he sent against them Jahm ibn-Zaḥr al-Ju'fi, who reconquered the place.

Others say that Yazîd went to Marw and established there his winterquarters. Then he raided Jurjân with 120,000 men from Syria, al-Jazîrah, Mesopotamia, and Khurâsân.

[1] Modern Sârî. Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 10; Meyn., pp. 295-296; LeStr. p. 370.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 633; Meyn., p. 246; LeStr., pp. 379-381.

Al-Madâ'ini's version. 'Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ'ini told me that Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab established winter quarters in Khurâsân; then raided Jurjân, around which place was a wall of baked brick, with which it was fortified against the Turks, one end of the wall reaching down to the very sea. But the Turks had captured it and named Ṣûl their king. And Yazîd said, "Allah's curse be on Ḳutaibah! He left these Turks right in the bosom of the Arabs."

Ṣûl surrenders. Yazîd wanted to raid China (or "he raided China") and left as his lieutenant over Khurâsân Mukhallad ibn-Yazîd. When he reached Jurjân, he found Sûl encamped in al-Buḥairah [1] and besieged him six months, attacking him again and again. Ṣûl sought for peace, offering to deliver up to him al-Buḥairah and all that was in it on condition that he be guaranteed his life and property and three hundred of the people of his household. Yazîd accepted his terms and then went on to Ṭabaristân, sending 'Abdallâh ibn-Ma'mar al-Yashkari to govern Dihistân and al-Bayâsân with 4,000 men.

He sent his son, Khâlid ibn-Yazîd, and his brother, abu-'Uyainah ibn-al-Muhallab, against the Iṣbahbadh [2] who put them to rout before Yazîd joined them with an army. The Iṣbahbadh wrote to the *marzubân* (also spelled *marûzbân*), "We have killed the companions of Yazîd, and I will kill a few Arabs for thy sake." And he killed 'Abdallâh ibn-Ma-'mar al-Yashkari and those with him while they were at ease in their camp. 337

Yazîd makes terms. When the news reached Yazîd, he sent Ḥayyân, the freedman of Maṣḳalah, one of the Dailam captives, who said to the Iṣbahbadh, "My origin and my sympathy are on thy side, even though there is a difference of religion between us. I do not think that thou wilt get

[1] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1323, l. 4.

[2] Title of the kings of Ṭabaristân. Meyn., p. 31.

any more support from the Commander of the Believers or from the soldiers of Khurâsân than hitherto, for thou are out of favor with him. I have tested Yazîd in regard to thee and have found him ready for peace." So Ḥayyân arranged for peace with him and kept him deluded until Yazîd made the conditions 700,000 dirhams and 400 loads of saffron. The Iṣbahbadh said to him, "Ten weigh six." Yazîd replied, "Nay, ten weigh seven." [1] This was refused but Ḥayyân said, "I will take upon myself the balance between the two weights." And he did so.

Ḥayyân was one of the nobles and leaders of the freedmen. His *kunyah* was abu-Ma'mar.[2]

Yazîd crushes a rebellion. Al-Madâ'ini:—The news of the treason and breach of convenant of the people of Jurjân reached Yazîd, and he went against them the second time. And when the news of his expedition reach the *marzubân,* the latter went to Wijâh and entrenched himself there. Around it were jungles and thickets, and Yazîd besieged it seven months without being able to accomplish a thing against it, while the enemy attacked him often. He set up the catapults against the city. Then some one guided the Arabs along a path to the enemies' citadel, and said, "We need only ladders of leather."

Yazîd made a compact with Jahm ibn-Zaḥr al-Ju'fi, saying, "Thou mayest be deprived of life, but thou canst not be deprived of death." [3] Yazîd ordered a fire to be lighted in the wood,[4] and alarmed the enemy thereby. Some of them made a sortie, and then returned. Jahm succeeded in getting to the citadel. Some of those who were at the gate

[1] I. e. 10 dirhams to weigh 6 or 7 *mithkals* respectively. *Cf.* App. iv.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1328-9, gives a fuller account with some variations. For Wijâh *cf. op. cit.*, p. 1330, note h.

[3] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1332, adds, "And beware lest I see thee come back in flight." I. e. his exhortation to Jaḥm is not to let fear of death dampen his courage.

[4] Ṭabari, *loc. cit.* adds "which he had collected."

resisted him, but he dislodged them from it, and a little while afterwards the enemy heard the *takbîr* behind them, and the citadel was taken. They surrendered to Yazîd at discretion, and Jahm led them to the *wâdi* of Jurjân and set to killing them until the blood flowed down and ran into the *wâdi*. And he built the city of Jurjân.

Yazîd imprisoned. Yazîd went to Khurâsân and the tribute gifts were brought to him. Then he placed his son Mukhallad in charge of Khurâsân and returned to Sulaimân. Now he had written him that he had in his possession 25,000,000 dirhams and the letter fell into the hands of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz who seized Yazîd for it and imprisoned him.

Tribute from the Iṣbahbadh. 'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his father from abu-Mikhnaf or 'Awânah ibn-al-Ḥakam:—Yazîd proceeded against Ṭabaristân and the Iṣbahbadh appealed to the Dailamites for troops and they gave him aid. Yazîd attacked him and then made peace with him for 4,000,000 dirhams down, 700,000 dirhams in gold coin every year, 400 ass loads of saffron, and a levy of 400 men, each with a shield and a Persian mantle, a silver cup and silk saddle-cushion (and some accounts say a *burnus*).[1] 338

Jaḥm retakes Jurjân. Yazîd subdued ar-Ruyân and Dunbâwand for money, garments and vessels. Then he went on to Jurjân whose people had treacherously slain his lieutenant. His *imâm,* Jaḥm ibn-Zaḥr ibn-Ḳais al-Ju'fi, preceded him and entered the city while the people were unsuspecting and careless. Ibn-al-Muhallab joined him and put to death part of the people and made captives of their women and crucified those he killed on the right and left of the road. He placed Jaḥm in charge of the city and laid both *jizyah* and *kharâj* on its population, and oppressed them heavily.

[1] The terms are given differently in Meyn., p. 385, translating Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 505, where the whole amount seems to be annual.

CHAPTER II

Frequent revolts. The people of Ṭabaristân kept asking for a treaty one time and refusing to pay the tribute the next time, continually starting war and suing for peace. In the days of Marwân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam they rebelled and disregarded their treaty until abu-l-'Abbâs, the Commander of the Believers, when he became caliph, sent to them his *'âmil* and made terms with them. Later they broke their treaty again and rebelled and killed the Moslems in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Manṣûr, who sent against them Khâzim ibn-Khuzaimah at-Tamîni and Rauḥ ibn-Ḥâtim al-Muhallabi. With them was Marzûḳ abu-l-Khasîb, Rauḥ's freedman, to whom is ascribed the building of the castle of abu-l-Khasîb in al-Kûfah.

Marzûḳ pretends to desert. When the siege began to drag and the campaign became difficult, Marzûḳ asked them to beat him and shave his head and beard, and they did so. Then he went over to the Iṣbahbadh and said to him, " Behold, those two fellows suspected me of treachery and have done to me what you see, and I have escaped to you. If you accept my allegiance and accord me the dignity that I deserve at your hands, I will direct you to the Arabs' weak points, and be of assistance to you against them." He clothed him, gave him gifts, and showed confidence in him and in his counsels; while Marzûḳ pretended to be helping him and to be interested in his behalf. But when he was familiar with his affairs and his secrets, he wrote to Khâzim

and Rauḥ, telling them what they need to know of these matters, and he gained control of the gate by deceit, so that the Moslems opened it, entered and captured the city, and advanced into and subdued the country.

'Umar ibn-al-'Alâ'. 'Umar ibn-al-'Alâ' was a butcher of the people of ar-Rai. He collected some people and attacked Sinfâdh [1] the time of the rebellion there. 'Umar showed his prowess and discomfited the enemy. Jahwar ibn-Marrâr al-'Ijli sent him on a mission to al-Manṣûr, who welcomed him,[2] treated him well, and promoted him to power. Afterwards he was governor of Ṭabaristân and suffered martyrdom there during the caliphate of al-Mahdi, the Commander of the Believers.

Jibâl Sharwîn. Muḥammad ibn-Mûsa ibn-Ḥafṣ ibn-'Umar ibn-al-'Alâ' and Mâyazdayâr [3] ibn-Ḳârin conquered Jibâl Sharwîn [4] of Ṭabaristân in the caliphate of al-Ma'mûn. It is a very difficult mountain and hard to cross, having many jungles and swamps.

Mâyazdayâr made governor. Then al-Ma'mûn appointed Mâyazdayâr over the *'âmils* of Ṭabaristân, ar-Rûyân, and Dunbâwand, giving him the name of Muḥammad and the rank of Iṣbahbadh. He continued to rule until al-Ma'mûn died. Then abu-Isḥâḳ al-Mu'taṣim-billâh, the Commander of the Believers, succeeded to the caliphate and confirmed him in his position.

He apostasizes. After six years and some months of this caliphate he became a traitor and unbeliever. The

[1] Or Sunbâdh. Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 119 *et seq.* Ḥitti, p. 459.

[2] Ar. *ḳawwadahu.* This may also be translated "made him a high officer."

[3] Meyn., p. 350, calls him Maziar *of the land of* ibn-Ḳârin apparently overlooking the connective *and* Maziar (Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 284, l. 4), thus confounding Maziar (Muhammad) with Muhammad ibn-Mûsa.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 283; Meyn., p. 350.

caliph wrote to 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṭâhir ibn-al-Ḥusain ibn-Maṣ'ab, his *'âmil* over Khurâsân, ar-Rai, Ḳûmas, and Jurjân, ordering him to take the field against him. 'Abdallâh sent against him his uncle, al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Ḥusain, with a force from Khurâsân, while al-Mu'taṣim-billâh sent Muḥammad ibn-Ibrâhîm ibn-Maṣ'ab with what he could collect of the militia of the vicinity. When the troops came into Mâyazdayâr's country, a brother of his, named Fûhyâr ibn-Ḳârin, wrote several times to al-Ḥasan and Muḥammad and told them that he favored them against his brother, having a grudge against him for some slight he had received from him, and that the people of his district had become weary of him because of his insolence and his tyranny.

He falls into a trap. Al-Ḥasan wrote advising Fûhyâr that he would lie hid in a place which he named to him, and Fûhyâr said to Mâyazdayâr, "Al-Ḥasan is coming to thee and is in such a place (mentioning a different place) and he asks thee for safe-conduct, desiring a conference with thee, according to information which has come to me." So Mâyazdayâr went seeking al-Ḥasan, and when he got into the midst of the place where al-Ḥasan was lying in wait, 340 Fûhyâr informed the latter of his arrival, and he came out upon him with his companies. These had been placed at different points in the marshes and they began coming one and all towards Mâyazdayâr. The latter tried to flee, but Fûhyâr seized hold of his girdle and the companions of al-Ḥasan gathered around him and made him a prisoner peacefully without treaty or convenant.

Flogged to death. He was taken to Sarra-man-ra'a in the year 225 and was grievously lashed in the presence of al-Mu'taṣim-billâh. When the lashing was over, he died and was crucified in Sarra-man-ra'a together with Bâbak al-Khurrani upon the slope which is in the vicinity of the hall

of the guard.[1] Some of his brother's chief men fell upon Fûhyâr and he was killed in Ṭabaristân.

And Ṭabaristân was subdued, plain and mountain, and 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṭâhir ruled there, and Ṭâhir ibn-'Abdallâh after him.

[1] I. e. the Tribunal.

PART XV

THE DISTRICTS OF THE TIGRIS (KUWAR DIJLAH)

CHAPTER I

The Conquest of the Districts of the Tigris

Suwaid and Khâlid in al-Baṣrah. Suwaid [1] ibn-Ḳuṭbah adh-Dhuhli (Some say " Ḳuṭbah ibn-Ḳatâdah.") made raids on the Persians in the district of Khuraibah of al-Baṣrah, just as al-Muthanna ibn-Ḥârithah ash-Shaibâni made raids in the district of al-Ḥîrah; when Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd arrived at al-Baṣrah on his way to al-Kûfah in the year 12, Suwaid assisted him in the war against the people of al-Ubullah, and was appointed by him as his lieutenant. Others say that Khâlid did not leave al-Baṣrah until he had conquered al-Khuraibah, in which place there was a garrison of Persians, some of whom he killed and others he made captive. He left as lieutenant therein a man of the banu-Sa'd ibn-Bakr ibn-Hawâzin, called Shuraiḥ ibn-'Âmir. It is also said that Khâlid went to the river al-Mar'ah [2] [the woman] and took the castle by capitulation, the terms being obtained from him by an-Nûshajân ibn-Jasnasma. (" The woman," the mistress of the castle, was Kâmin Dâr bint-Narsa, the daughter of an-Nûshajân's uncle, and she was called " the woman " just because abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari had alighted there and she had served him with a paste made of dates, and he used to say, " Give us some of the pastry of the woman.")

Muḥammad ibn-'Umar al-Wâḳidi [3] denies that Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd went to al-Baṣrah after he had finished with the

[1] Hitti, p. 388.

[2] *Idem*, p. 389.

[3] Hitti, *loc. cit.*

affairs of the people of al-Yamâmah and al-Baḥrain, and says that he went to al-Madînah; then left there for al-'Irâḳ by way of Faid and ath-Tha'labîyah. Allah knows best. 341

'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân appointed governor. When the news about Suwaid and what he had done in al-Baṣrah reached 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, he thought it well to appoint over that district a man to represent him, giving the appointment to 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân ibn-Jâbir ibn-Wahb ibn-Nusaib, of the tribe of the banu-Mâzin ibn-Manṣûr ibn-'Ikrimah ibn-Khaṣafah, and an ally [*ḥalîf*] of the banu-Naufal ibn'Abd-Manâf, and one of the first Emigrants. He told him that "al-Ḥîrah has been conquered and a great noble of Persia (i. e. Mihrâm [1]) slain, and the Moslem troops are trampling the land of Babylon. So go to the district of al-Baṣrah and draw away thence the people of al-Ahwâz, Fârs, and Maisân from assisting their brethren against thy brethren." 'Utbah went there and drew to his side Suwaid ibn-Ḳuṭbah and those who were with him of the Bakr ibn-Wâ'il and the banu-Tamîm.[2]

'Utbah chooses the site of al-Baṣrah. There were in the district of al-Baṣrah at that time seven villages,[3] two in al-Khuraibah, two in az-Zâbûḳah, and three in what is now the Dâr al-Azd. 'Utbah quartered his companions in these villages, he himself staying in al-Khuraibah. This had had a garrison of the Persians that Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd had conquered, and that had then been abandoned by the Persians. 'Utbah wrote to 'Umar informing him of the place in which he and his companions were located, and 'Umar replied, ordering him to transfer them to a location near to water and pasture. So he changed to the site of al-Baṣrah.[4]

[1] Mihrân was killed in the year 14 a. H. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2377.

[2] Caetani, 14: 67.

[3] Ar. *dasâkir*.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 369; LeStr., pp. 44-46.

Its name. Abu-Mikhnaf says that the place abounded in small stones and black pebbles; so people said "Behold, it is gravel"[1] [*baṣrah*]. Others say that it was named Baṣrah only because of the looseness of its soil.

They put up there booths and tents of leather and of coarse cloth, and did not have any real buildings.

Harthamah joins 'Utbah. 'Umar reinforced 'Utbah with Harthamah ibn-'Arfajah al-Bâriḳi[2] who was in al-Baḥrain, and who later went to Mosul.

Capture of al-Ubullah. 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân assailed al-Ubullah[3] and took it by storm, and wrote to 'Umar to tell him about it, informing him that al-Ubullah was the port to al-Baḥrain, 'Umân, al-Hind [India], and aṣ-Ṣîn [China], dispatching the letter by Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ath-Thaḳafi.

And of al-Furât. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from Marḥûm, the perfumer, from his father from Shuwais al-'Adawi who says:—We went out with the ruler of al-Ubullah and con- 342 quered that city. Then we crossed over the Euphrates and had an encounter with the people of al-Furât with their spades,[4] but we defeated them and conquered al-Furât.

Ḥimyari with them. 'Abd-al-Wâḥid ibn-Ghiyath from Ḥimyari ibn-Karâthah ar-Raba'i who says:—When they entered al-Ubullah, they found small loaves made of white flour, and they said, "This is the bread of which it is said that it is fattening." And when they ate of it they began to look at their fore-arms and to say, "By Allah, we don't see any fat." I obtained as booty [he adds] a green tunic which had a pocket at the chest. This I used to wear when attending Friday service.[5]

[1] Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2377 *et seq.*

[2] Yâḳût, *loc. cit.*

[3] LeStr., p. 47.

[4] Ar. *masâḥi.*

[5] Yâḳût, *loc cit.* lines 21 *et seq.*

Al-Madâ'ini from Jahm ibn-Ḥassân:—'Utbah conquered al-Ubullah; sent Mujâshi' ibn-Mas'ûd against al-Furât; commanded al-Mughîrah to lead in prayer; and he himself returned to 'Umar.

Al-Madâ'ini on the authority of his teachers:—That part of the country lying between al-Fahraj and al-Furât became Moslem by capitulation, and the rest of al-Ubullah by force.

'Utbah's campaigns. 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ al-Muḳri from Muḥammad ibn-Isḥâḳ ibn-Yasâr:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb sent 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân, an ally of the banu-Naufal, with 800 men to al-Baṣrah, and [later] reinforced him with [more] men. [At first] he encamped the people in tents; but when they had increased in numbers, some of them built seven villages of sun-dried brick; of these two were in al-Khuraibah, one in az-Zâbûḳah, two among the Azd, and two among the Tamîn. He then went against al-Ubullah and attacked its people, conquering the place by force, and next coming to al-Furât, with Mujâshi' ibn-Mas'ûd as-Sulami in command of his vanguard. After he had conquered it by force, he came to al-Madhâr.[1] The satrap [*marzubân*] of that place came out against him; but he fought with him, and Allah routed him, and most of those with him were drowned. The satrap, however, surrendered, but 'Utbah had him beheaded.

Then 'Utbah went to Dastumaisân whose people had collected an army to make a stand against the Moslems. They were on the point of advancing, but 'Utbah thought it best to anticipate them in the attack in order that by so doing he might better crush their strength and fill their hearts with fear.[2] So he met them in battle, and Allah put them to rout, killing their *dihḳâns*. Then 'Utbah set out straightway for Abarḳubâdh, which place Allah gave into his hands.

[1] LeStr., p. 42.

[2] Adding *ru'ban* as suggested by De Goeje.

Death of 'Utbah. Then 'Utbah asked 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb for permission to come back to him and perform the pilgrimage, and he permitted him so to do. 'Utbah appointed Mujâshi'ibn-Mas'ûd as-Sulami as lieutenant; but he was absent from al-Baṣrah, and so he ordered al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah to take his place until his return. And ['Umar [1]] said, "Dost thou appoint a man of the nomad people to rule over a man of the civilized Arabs?" 'Utbah wanted to resign from the governorship of al-Baṣrah, but was not permitted to. So he set out to return, but died on the journey. 34

Al-Mughîrah appointed governor. 'Umar then appointed as governor of al-Baṣrah al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah. Now the people had asked 'Utbah about al-Baṣrah, and he had told them of its fertility, and so many people went there.

Azdah, wife of 'Utbah. 'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from his father from 'Awanah:—There was in the household of 'Utbah ibn-Khazwân Azdah [2] bint-al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaladah, and when 'Umar made 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân *'âmil,* there went with him Nâfi', abu-Bakrah, and Ziyâd. When 'Utbah fought with the people of the city of al-Furât, his wife kept urging the men to the battle, saying, "If they defeat you, you will deliver us as wives to the uncircumcised." But Allah conquered this city for the Moslems who obtained much booty.

Ziyâd keeps the accounts. There was among them none who could write and reckon except Ziyâd. So he presided over the division of this spoil; and there was assigned to him two dirhams a day, although he was but a lad with curls [3] on his head.

[1] The text is confused here. *Cf.* the fuller account later on in the chaper.

[2] Ardah, according to al-Madâ'ini.

[3] Ar. *dhu'âbah.*

Al-Madar and al-Wabar. Then 'Utbah went to see 'Umar, and wrote to Mujâshi' ibn-Mas'ûd informing him that he had appointed him his lieutenant. But he was absent, and so 'Utbah ordered al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah to lead in prayer until the return of Mujâshi'. Then the *dihkân* of Maisân apostatized and turned away from Islam. Al-Mughîrah met him at al-Mun'arij ["the bend of the river"] and killed him. When al-Mughîrah wrote to 'Umar about his victory over him, 'Umar summoned 'Utbah and said, "Didst not thou tell me that thou hadst appointed Mujâshi' thy lieutenant?" He said, "Yes." 'Umar said, "But lo, al-Mughîrah has written to me so-and-so." And 'Utbah said, "Mujâshi' was away, and I had ordered al-Mughîrah to take his place, and to lead in prayer until his return." Then 'Umar said, "As I live, verily, some one from the civilized Arabs [*ahl al-madar*] should have been appointed ruler rather than one of the nomads [*ahl al-wabar*]." Then he wrote out al-Mughîrah's appointment as governor of al-Baṣrah and sent the message to him. And al-Mughîrah led a godfearing life until he had the affair with the woman.[1]

Maisân. 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ from 'Abdah from Muḥammad ibn-Isḥâḳ:—Al-Mughîrah raided Maisân, conquering it by force after great slaughter, and reducing the country to submission. Then the people of Abarḳubâdh rebelled and al-Mughîrah conquered it by force. 344

'Utbah's conquests. Rauḥ ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min from Wahb ibn-Jarîr ibn-Ḥâzim from his father:—'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân conquered al-Ubullah, al-Furât, Abarḳubâdh, and Dastumaisân, and al-Mughîrah conquered Maisân. But the people of Abarḳubâdh rebelled, and al-Mughîrah [re]conquered it.

'Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ'ini says that people used to

[1] The "affair" is recounted at length further on in this chapter.

call Maisân, Dastumaisân, al-Furât, and Abarḳubâdh "Maisân." [1]

Abu-l-Ḥasan made captive. Among the captives of Maisân was abu-l-Ḥasan al-Baṣri and al-Ḥasan's brother, Sa'îd ibn-Yasâr. (The [Persian] name of Yasâr was Fairûz.) Abu-l-Ḥasan fell to the lot of a woman of the *Anṣâr,* called ar-Rubaiya' bint-an-Naḍr, the paternal aunt of Anas ibn-Mâlik. Others say that he belonged to a woman of the banu-Salimah, called Jamîlah, the wife of Anas ibn-Mâlik. Al-Ḥasan [himself] relates as follows: "My father and mother belonged to a man of the banu-n-Najjâr who married a woman of the banu-Salimah and bestowed them upon her as part of her dowry. This woman gave them their freedom, and so we are her clients." [2]

Al-Hasan al-Baṣri. Al-Ḥasan was born in al-Madînah two years before the end of the caliphate of 'Umar. He departed thence a year after the battle of Ṣiffîn, and died in al-Baṣrah in the year 110, at the age of 89 years.

Al-Mughîrah accused of adultery. Then behold, al-Mughîrah began to have relations with a woman of the banu-Hilâl, called Umm-Jamîl bint-Mihjan ibn-al-Afḳam ibn-Shu'aithah ibn-al-Huzam. She was married to a man of Thaḳîf, named al-Ḥajjâj ibn-'Atîk. This scandal came to the knowledge of abu-Bakrah ibn-Masrûḥ (a freedman of the Prophet, a Thaḳafi by a foreign mother), Shibl ibn-Ma'bad ibn-'Ubaid al-Bajali, Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaladah ath-Thaḳafi, and Ziyâd ibn-'Ubaid. So they watched him until, while he was visiting her, they stole in upon him unawares, and behold, the two of them were naked and he atop of her. So they proceeded to go to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb and testified before him of what they had seen. 'Umar said to abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari, "I wish to send thee

[1] LeStr., pp. 43, 80.

[2] Literally "our allegiance [*walâ'*] is to her."

to a country where Satan has made his nest." He said, "Then give me the help of a number of the *Anṣâr*." So 'Umar sent with him al-Barâ' ibn-Mâlik, 'Imrân ibn-al-Ḥuṣain abu-Nujaid al-Khuzâ'i, and 'Auf ibn-Wahb al-Khuzâ'i. And he appointed abu-Mûsa governor of al-Baṣrah and ordered him to send al-Mughîrah back. So he sent him back three days after his arrival [at al-Baṣrah]. And when al-Mughîrah reached 'Umar, he was confronted with the witnesses; and Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith said, "I saw him on the woman . . . . having intercourse with her." [1] Then Shibl ibn-Ma'bad gave the same testimony. Then abu-Bakrah. When Ziyâd came as the fourth,[2] 'Umar, looking at him, said, "Verily, I see the face of a man through whom I hope one of the Companions of the Prophet of Allah will not be stoned to death, and by whose testimony he will not be disgraced." (Now al-Mughîrah had come from Miṣr and professed Islam, and was present at the battle of al-Hudaibiyah together with the Prophet of Allah.) And Ziyâd said, "I saw a scandalous sight and I heard passionate breathing, but I do not know whether he had intercourse with her or not." (Another report is that he did not give any testimony at all.) So 'Umar ordered that the three witnesses be flogged, which was done. Shibl said, "Dost thou flog those who testify the truth, and thus render all punishment meaningless?" And abu-Bakrah, after he had been flogged, said, "I testify that al-Mughîrah is an adulterer." 'Umar said, "Punish him [again]." But 'Ali said, "If thou dost admit this [repetition] as a [fourth] testimony, then have your friend stoned." [3] Abu-Bakrah swore that he would never speak to Ziyâd again, though he

[1] The picturesque but indecent language of the Arabic has been toned down in translating.

[2] Four witnesses were required for conviction.

[3] There is some confusion in the text here.

was his brother on his mother Sumaiyah's side. Then 'Umar sent them back to their country.

Some have related that abu-Mûsa was in al-Baṣrah when 'Umar wrote to him about the governorship and asked him to send al-Mughîrah back. But the former account is the more probable.

Sa'd and 'Utbah. It is related that 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb had commanded Sa'd ibn-abu-Waḳḳâs to send 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân to al-Baṣrah; which he did, but ['Umar] neglected to write to 'Utbah about it. For this reason he asked to be excused; nevertheless 'Umar sent him as governor, but he died on the way.

Abu-Mûsa governor. Abu-Mûsa's governorship was in the year 16 (others say 17). He inspected the Districts of the Tigris [*kuwar*[1] *Dijlah*] and found its people submissive and obedient. He ordered that the land be surveyed, and assessed the *kharâj* upon it in proportion to its ability to bear it.

The more probable account is that abu-Mûsa was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah in the year 16.

Shaibân ibn-Farrukh al-Ubulli from Yaḥya ibn-abu-Kathîr:—One of abu-Mûsa's scribes wrote to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, "*min abu-Mûsa*" for *min abi-Mûsa,* and 'Umar wrote, "When this letter of mine reaches thee, have thy scribe beaten with the lash, and dismiss him from thy service." 346

[1] The singular of this noun is *kurah* = χώρα

CHAPTER II

The Founding of Al-Basrah[1]

'Utbah chooses the site. 'Ali ibn-al-Mughirah al-Athram from abu-'Ubaidah:—When 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân camped at al-Khuraibah,[2] he wrote to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, telling him of his camping there, and asserting that the Moslems needed a place in which they could pass the winter, and into which they could retire when they returned from a raid. 'Umar wrote to him, "Assemble thy followers in one place; let it be near to water and pasture; and write me a description of it." So he wrote to him, "I have found a land abounding in reeds,[3] on the extremity of the desert towards the fluvial region, and below it are swamps in which are reeds." When 'Umar read the letter, he said, "This land is verdant, near to watering and grazing places and fire-wood." So he wrote to him to station the people there, which he did. They built huts of reeds, and 'Utbah built a mosque of reeds. This was in the year 14.

The mosque. It is said that 'Utbah took the marking out of the limits of the mosque into his own hands. Others say that Miḥjar ibn-al-Adra' al-Bahzi of Sulaim marked them out. Another tradition has it that Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith al-Kaladah did it when he laid out the limits of his own house. Still another account says that on the contrary al-Aswad ibn-Sarî' at-Tamîmi did it, and that he was the first

[1] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 640, l. 5 *et seq.*; *cf.* Wellhausen, vol. vi, p. 106.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2377, l. 15 *et seq.*

[3] Ar. *ḳaṣabah*; but perhaps read *ḳaḍabah* = "nutritious plants."

to act as *ḳâdi*[1] in it. Mujâshi and Mujâlid, the two sons of Mas'ûd, said to him, " Allah bless thee. Thou hast made thyself famous." And he said, " Nay, far be it! "

Official buildings. 'Utbah built the official residence near the mosque in the square which is called today the Raḥabat banu-Hâshim. (It used to be called ad-Dahnâ'.[2]) In it was also the prison and the registry [*dîwân*]. 347

When the inhabitants went on a raid, they used to take down these reeds, pack them up, and lay them away until they should return from the raid; and when they returned, they restored their buildings. This custom lasted some time. Then the people marked out limits, and built regular dwellings. And abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari built the mosque and official residence of dried brick and clay, and roofed them with grass, at the same time enlarging the mosque.

The ḳiblah. When the *imâm* went to lead the people in prayer, he used to pass across them to the *ḳiblah* on steps of stone. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir went out one day from the residence, towards the *ḳiblah,* wearing a gown of black silk stuff, and the Arabs began to say, " the commander has bear-skin."

'Abd-ar-Raḥmân born in al-Baṣraḥ. Abu-Muḥammad ath-Thûri from al-Aṣma'i:—When 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân settled in al-Khuraibah, there was born there 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakrah, being the first to be born in al-Baṣrah; and his father slaughtered a camel with which he feasted the Basrans and filled them to the full.

Ziyâd enlarges the mosque. Then when Mu'âwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân appointed Ziyâd as *'âmil* over al-Baṣrah, the latter enlarged the mosque considerably, building it of baked brick and gypsum, and roofing it with teak. Moreover he

[1] I. e. " to lead in prayer," but see De Goeje, glossary, pp. 87-90.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 635.

said, "It is not fitting that the *imâm* pass across the people." So he moved the official residence from the Dahnâ to the south of the mosque, and the *imâm* used to go out of the residence by the door in the southern wall [of the mosque].

Ziyâd, when he was building the mosque and the official residence, kept going about in it, watching the construction. He would often say to those leaders of the people of al-Basrah who accompanied him, "Do ye see any defect?" And they would answer, "We do not know a building more excellent than it." And he would say, "Yes, if only these columns of which each one has four arches upon it were more massive than the other columns."

It is related on the authority of Yûnus ibn-Ḥabîb an-Naḥwi that there was not in these columns the slightest crack or fault.

The following verses are by Ḥârithah ibn-Badr al-Ghudâni, though some say they are by al-Ba'îth al-Mujâshi'i:— [Basîṭ]

> "Ziyâd built in honor of Allah an edifice
> Of stones; 'twas not made of clay.
> If human hands had not labored to raise it,
> Verily we should call it a work of the Satans."

'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd enlarges it. Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm ibn-Ḳaḥdham says:—When Ziyâd built the mosque, he made its portico resting on five columns, and built its minaret of stone. He was the first to make the choir,[1] and to move the official residence to the south of the mosque. His building, which was of dried brick and clay, stood until Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân as-Sijistâni, a freedman of the banu-Yamîm, when he was in charge of the *kharâj* of al-'Irâḳ for Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, rebuilt the mosque of burnt brick and gypsum. 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd enlarged 348

[1] Ar. *maḳṣûrah,* i. e. that part of the mosque where the Imâm stands, partitioned off from the rest of the building by a railing.

it and also the mosque of al-Kûfah, saying, "I asked Allah to grant me to lead the holy war [*jihâd*] and he did so, and I asked him to grant me to build the two cathedral mosques in the two provinces [1] and he did so, and I asked him to make me the successor to Ziyâd and he did so."

The contractor becomes rich. Abu'Ubaidah Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna' says:—When Ziyâd built the mosque he brought its pillars from the mountain of al-Ahwâz, the man who had charge of securing and cutting them being al-Ḥajjâj ibn-'Atîk ath-Thakafi and his son. He became rich, so that it was said, "It is good to be in authority even over stones." This became a proverb.

Another version. But some people say:—Ziyâd saw the people clapping the dust off their hands when they got full of dust while they were praying, and he said, "There is danger that people should come to think after a long time, that clapping the dust off of their hands during the prayers is part of the ritual." So he ordered that pebbles be collected and spread in the mosque. The overseers of the work were strict with the people in this regard and oppressed them, showing them pebbles which they had selected, and saying, "Bring us like these, according to their sizes and colors." And the overseers were bribed, so that the saying arose, "It is good to be in authority even over stones."

The house of Nâfi'. Abu-'Ubaidah says:—The north side of the mosque had an angle, because on that side there was a dwelling belonging to Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaladah. His son refused to sell it; but when Mu'âwiyah appointed 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd governor of al-Baṣrah, 'Ubaidallâh said to his companions, "If 'Abdallâh ibn-Nâfi' moves away to the farthest end of his property, then inform me of the

[1] Baṣrah and Kûfah.

[2] In prayer the Moslem prostrates himself with outstretched palms on the ground.

fact." When he moved to his white castle which is near al-Batîḥah, 'Ubaidallâh, when he was told of this, sent workmen who pulled down as much of the house as was necessary to make the mosque square. Ibn-Nâfi' came and complained to him about this. So he compensated him by giving him five cubits for every cubit, and opening for him in the wall 349 an aperture into the mosque. This aperture remained in the wall until al-Mahdi the Commander of the Believers enlarged the mosque, when the whole house was made a part of the mosque. The space on which stood the official residence was also added to the mosque in the caliphate of ar-Rashîd.

Al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf destroys the residence. Abu-'Ubaidah says:—When al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf came to al-'Irâḳ,[1] he was told that Ziyâd had built the official residence in al-Baṣrah, and he wished to remove his name from it. So he determined to rebuild it of gypsum and burnt brick. But someone said to him, "Thou wilt fasten his name upon it only the more firmly and surely." So he pulled it down and left it. And ordinary buildings were built around it with its clay and brick and its doors.

Sulaimân orders it rebuilt. There was therefore no official residence in al-Baṣrah until Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became ruler[2] and appointed Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân over the *kharâj* of al-'Irâḳ. Ṣâliḥ related to him the story of al-Ḥajjâj and what he had done with the official residence. He ordered its restoration. So Ṣaliḥ restored it upon the same foundations with burnt brick and gypsum, increasing the height of its roof.

When 'Umar ibn'Abd-al-'Azîz was ruler,[3] and appointed

[1] In the year 17 A. H.

[2] In the year 96 (715).

[3] From 99 (717) to 101 (720).

'Adi ibn-Arṭâh al-Fazâri over al-Baṣrah, the latter wanted to build over it upper rooms. But 'Umar wrote to him, "May thy mother be bereft of thee! O son of Umm-'Adi. Has a dwelling which was big enough for Ziyâd and the family of Ziyâd become too small for thee?". So 'Adi refrained from finishing these upper rooms, and left it. When Sulaimân ibn-'Ali ibn'Abdallâh ibn-al-'Abbâs was *wâli* over al-Baṣrah for abu-l-'Abbâs the Commander of the Believers, he built, on the walls of the upper rooms which 'Adi had erected, a structure of clay. Then he left it and moved to the courtyard [*mirbad*] and lived there.

The residence added to the mosque. When ar-Rashîd became caliph,[1] the house was added to the southern part of the mosque, and there is not today any official residence for the governors of al-Baṣrah.

Al-Walîd ibn-Hashâm ibn-Ḳaḥdham's version. No one enlarged the mosque after ibn-Ziyâd until al-Mahdi became ruler.[2] He bought the houses of Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaladah ath-Thaḳafi, 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah, Dabî'ah ibn-Kaladah ath-Thaḳafi, 'Amr ibn-Wahb ath-Thaḳafi, Umm-Jamîl al-Hilâlîyah (with whom al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah had his affair), and other houses, and added them to the mosque in the days that Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ibn-'Ali was governor of al-Baṣrah. Then Hârûn ar-Rashîd, the Commander of the Believers, ordered 'Isa ibn-Ja'far ibn-al-Manṣûr, in the days when he was governor 350 over al-Baṣrah, to incorporate the official residence into the mosque, which he did.

A census taken. Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm on the authority of his grandfather whom Yûsuf ibn-'Umar[3] had appointed over the register of the army of the Arabs, and who says:—

[1] In the year 170 (786).

[2] In the year 158 (775).

[3] Governor of 'Irâḳ under Hishâm, from 105 (724) to 125 (743).

I inspected all the soldiers of al-Baṣrah in the days of Ziyâd, and I found them to number 80,000; and I found their households to be 120,000; and I found the Arab soldiery of al-Kûfah to be 60,000, and their households 80,000.

Al-Wâḳidi's account. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi on the strength of his usual *isnâd*:—'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân was with Sa'd ibn-abu-Waḳḳâṣ when 'Umar wrote to him [Sa'd], "Locate thy camp[1] in al-Kûfah, and send 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân to al-Baṣrah." So 'Utbah set out with 800 men, and pitched a tent of cloth, and the people with him did the same. 'Umar supplied him with [more] troops, and when they became numerous, some of them built seven villages of sun-dried brick. Of these two were in al-Khuraibah, one in az-Zâbûḳah, two among the banu-Tamîm, and two among the Azd. Then 'Utbah set out for al-Furât in [the region of] al-Baṣrah, and reduced it, after which he returned to al-Baṣrah. Now Sa'd had been writing [orders] to 'Utbah, which thing grieved him, so that he asked 'Umar for permission to go to him. Having obtained it, he left al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah as his lieutenant, and when he reached al-Madînah, he complained to 'Umar of Sa'd' lording it over him. 'Umar said to him, "And why should it trouble thee to acknowledge the authority of a man of Ḳuraish, a Companion and a noble?" 'Utbah, however, did not want to return, but 'Umar insisted that he should do so. And on the journey he fell from his beast, and died in the year 16.

Miḥjar ibn-al-Adra' laid out the limits of the mosque of al-Baṣrah, but he did not build it, though he used to lead in prayer in it before it was built. 'Utbah built it of reeds. Then abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari rebuilt it and it was rebuilt again after him.

[1] Ar. *ḳairawân*; De Goeje, glossary, p. 92.

CHAPTER III

The Fief of Nâfi'

Nâfi' raises horses in al-Baṣrah. Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Aswad al-'Ijli from Yaḥya ibn-Adam from abu-Mu-'âwiyah from ash-Shaibâni from Muḥammad ibn-'Abdallâh ath-Thaḳafi:—There was in al-Baṣrah a man (whose *kunyah* was abu-'Abdallâh) by the name of Nâfi', who was the first to wean a colt in that district. He went to 'Umar and said to him, "There is in al-Baṣrah a piece of land [which I want]. It is not subject to the *kharâj,* nor will my taking it harm any one of the Moslems." Abu-Mûsa wrote in his behalf about this to 'Umar, and the latter replied that he should assign it to him as a fief.

Sa'îd ibn-Sulaimân from 'Abbâd ibn-al-'Awwâm from 'Auf al-A'râbi, who says:—I have read a letter of 'Umar's to abu-Mûsa, saying, "Abu-'Abdallâh has asked me for a piece of land on the bank of the Tigris, on which he wishes to raise his horses. So if it is not land subject to *jizyah,* nor supplied with water [from land] subject to *jizyah,* give it to him."

'Abbâd says:—I am informed that he [abu-'Abdallâh] was Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaladah, the physician of the Arabs.

'Umar's letter in full. Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm ibn-Ḳaḥ-dham says:—I found in our possession a letter in which is written:

"In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From the servant of Allah, 'Umar, the Commander of the

Believers, to al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah. Peace be upon thee. To thee I praise Allah, than whom there is no god but he.— Now abu-'Adallâh relates that he has sown [a field] in al-Baṣrah in the jurisdiction of ibn-Ghazwân, and has raised colts there, at a time when none of the people of al-Baṣrah raised them, and that he is pleased with what he has seen. So help him with his crop and his horses; for I have granted him permission to sow, and I give him his land which he has sown, if it be not land upon which is the *jizyah* of Persian land, nor supplied with water from land which is subject to to *jizyah*. And thou shalt not assign it to him except with good will. And peace be upon thee and the mercy of Allah. Written by Mu'aikîb ibn-abu-Fâṭimah in Ṣafar of the year 17."

CHAPTER IV

HOUSES IN AL-BAṢRAH

Few land titles clear.[1] Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm says:—My uncle told me on the authority of ibn-Shubrumah who said, "If I were *wâli* of al-Baṣrah, I would confiscate the property of its inhabitants; for 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb granted fields there to none save abu-Bakrah and Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith, while 'Uthmân granted no fiefs in al-Baṣrah save to 'Imrân ibn-Ḥuṣain, and to ibn-'Âmir (to whom he granted his house), and to his freedman Ḥumrân."

It is said that Ziyâd also had granted 'Imrân a fief.

The first house. Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi says:—The first house built in al-Baṣrah was the house of Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith; then second the house of Ma'ḳil ibn-Yasâr al-Muzani. 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân had seized the house[2] of 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thaḳafi, writing to him that a piece of property would be given him in al-Baṣrah; and he was given his property known as Shaṭṭ-'Uthmân in the neighborhood of al-Ubullah. It was swampy, but he drained it, and made his home there. 352

Bâb-'Uthmân in al-Baṣrah gets its name from this 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi.

'Uthmân ibn-'Affân's freedman. Ḥumrân ibn-Abân [at first] belonged to Musaiyab ibn-Najabah[3] al-Fazâri, who

[1] For the *Khiṭaṭ* in general and especially of al-Baṣrah see Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 644, where are also to be found some variant readings of Balâdhuri.

[2] In al-Madînah.

[3] Yâḳût, *loc. cit.* has Baḥtah; but see Wüstenfeld's note p. 76.

got him in 'Ain-at-Tamr. Uthmân ibn-'Affân bought him from him, taught him to write, and took him as a scribe; but became angry with him, because, when he sent him to inquire about something of which al-Walîd ibn-'Ukbah ibn-abu-Mu'ait had been accused, Ḥumrân accepted bribes from al-Walîd, and lied concerning the charges made against him. Afterward 'Uthmân found out all about this, and became angry with Ḥumrân, saying, "He shall not live near me ever again." So he gave him the choice of a place to live in other than al-Madînah. Ḥumrân chose al-Baṣrah, and asked 'Uthmân to grant him a dwelling place there as a fief, mentioning a large plot. But 'Uthmân thought it excessive, and said to ibn-'Âmir, "Give him a house like any one of thy houses." And so he gave him as a fief his house in al-Baṣrah.

The house of Khâlid ibn-Ṭulaiḳ[1] al-Khazâ'i, the *ḳâḍi*,[2] belonged to the *ḳâḍi*, abu-l-Jarrâḥ, who had been imprisoned by ibn-az-Zubair. Salam ibn-Ziyâd had bought it from him because he fled from ibn-az-Zubair's prison.

Ibn-al-Kalbi says:—Banu-Samurah street in al-Baṣrah was owned by 'Utbah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Samurah ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-Manâf. The mosque of 'Âṣim takes its name from 'Âṣim, a member of the banu-Rabî'ah ibn-Kilâb ibn-Rabî'ah ibn-'Âmir ibn-Ṣa'ṣa'ah. The house of abu-Nâfi' in al-Baṣrah takes its name from abu-Nâfi, the *maula* of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—The house of abu-Ya'ḳûb al-Khaṭṭâbi belonged to Saḥâmah ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-al-Aṣamm al-Ghanawi, the muezzin of al-Ḥajjâj, who was one of those who fought with Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab, and who was killed by Maslamah ibn-'Abd-al-Malik on the day of

[1] Wüstenfeld pronounces Ṭalîḳ. See also Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 506.

[2] Ṭabari, *loc. cit.* and p. 518. Khâlid was appointed in 166 a. H.

[the battle of] the Palace. It was alongside of the house of al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah.

The house of Ṭârik is named from Ṭârik ibn-abu-Bakrah. In front of it was the property of al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thakafi.

The house of Ziyâd ibn-'Uthmân was bought by 'Ubaid-allâh ibn-Ziyâd for his nephew, Ziyâd ibn-'Uthmân. Adjoining it was a property in part of which was the residence 353 of Bâbah bint-abu-l-'Âṣi.

The house of Sulaimân ibn-'Ali belonged to Salam ibn-Ziyâd, but Bilâl ibn-abu-Burdah, when he was *wâli* of al-Baṣrah,[1] took possession of it for Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh. Later Sulaimân ibn-'Ali came and lodged there.

The house of Mûsa ibn-abu-l-Mukhtâr, a freedman of Thakîr, belonged to a man of the banu-Dârim. Fairûz Ḥuṣain wanted to buy it from him for 10,000 dirhams. He said, "I would not sell my nearness to thee for 100,000." But Fairûz gave him 10,000, and he delivered the house into his possession.

Abu-l-Ḥasan says:—The Dârimite wanted to sell his house, and said, "I will sell it for 10,000 dirhams, 5,000 as its price, and 5,000 because it was near to Fairûz." This came to the ears of Fairûz, who said, "I will take thy house from thee." And he gave his 10,000 dirhams.

The house of ibn-Tubba' is named from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Tubba' al-Ḥimyari. It was on one of the fiefs of Ziyâd.

Dammûn was of the tribe of aṭ-Ṭâ'if; abu-Mûsa had married his daughter, and she bore him abu-Burdah. Dammûn had a property in al-Baṣrah, and the people of al-Baṣrah used to say in regard to him:

"Concord and children [*banûn*],
And bread and cumin [*kammûn*],
In the house of Dammûn."

[1] In 110 A. H. Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1506, l. 7.

CHAPTER V

Baths of Al-Baṣrah

The first baths. Al-Ḳaḥdhami and others say:—The first Bath which was erected in al-Baṣrah was the Bath of Abdallâh ibn-'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thaḳafi, located in the garden of Sufyân ibn-Mu'âwiyah in al-Khuraibah, near the castle of 'Îsa ibn-Ja'far. The second was the Bath of Fîl the freedman of Ziyâd. The third was the Bath of Muslim ibn-abu-Bakrah in Bilâlâbâdh. This is the one which later became the property of 'Amr ibn-Muslim al-Bâhili. Al-Baṣrah stopped for a while the building of baths, and so these were the only baths there.

The profits of Muslim's Bath. Al-Madâ'ini related to me that abu-Bakrah said to his son Muslim, "My son, by Allah, thou doest no work, yet I do not see thee falling short of thy brothers in income." He replied, "If thou wilt keep the secret for me, I will tell thee." Said he, "I will." And Muslim said, "I reap me from this Bath of mine every day a thousand dirhams and many dainties." Some time after this Muslim became sick, and summoning his brother Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakrah, told him about the profits of his Bath. The brother told it abroad, and asked the governor for permission to build a Bath himself. (For Baths could not be built in al-Baṣrah except by permission of the governors.) The governor granted it. Then permission was asked and obtained by the following: 'Ubaid-allâh ibn-abu-Bukrah, al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi, Siyâh the Uswâri, al-Ḥuṣain ibn-abu-l-Ḥurr the 'Ambari, Raiṭah bint-Ziyâd, Lubâbah bint-Aufa al-Jurashi (for two Baths, one of them in a part of the city inhabited by people of al-Kubâ', 354

and the other in the quarter of the banu-Sa'd), and al-Minjâb ibn-Râshid, the Ḍabbi. When Muslim ibn-abu-Bakrah recovered from his sickness, he found that the income from his Bath had been ruined, and he began to curse 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân, saying, "What has he been up to? May Allah cut off from him His mercy!"

Envious of Fîl. Fîl, the chamberlain and freedman of Ziyâd, went out riding with abu-l-Aswad ad-Du'ili and Anas ibn-Zunaim, he on a gentle steed, and they on two plodding horses. They were seized with envy, and Anas said, "Pass by, O abu-l-Aswad." Said he, "Give way." And Fîl said, "By the life of thy father, the Bath of the Kisra was not equal to two-thirds of the Bath of Fîl."[1] Abu-l-Aswad replied, "But for us to be forced to dance around freedmen is not customary according to the covenant of the Prophet."

Verses referring to the first three Baths. Ibn-Mufarrigh[2] said to Ṭalḥah aṭ-Ṭalḥât (i.e. Ṭalḥah ibn-Abdallâh ibn-Khalaḳ):

"Thou inspirest me with the hope, O Ṭulaiḥah, of a thousand thousand.
But thou hast inspired me with a very distant hope;
For thou are not a noble freeman's
But[3] Samrâ's who beareth slaves,[4]
Even if thou wert taken to the Bath of Fîl,
And clothed with silk and striped garments."

Some one said when death was near him,

"Ah, many a girl has said on a day when she was weary,
'Where is the road to the Bath of Minjâb?'"[5]

[1] This and the following bit of repartee are in impromptu verse.

[2] The Ms. has *abu-*, but abu-l-Mahâsin, vol. ii, p. 214, givec the *kunyah* of this poet as "abu-'Abân." See DeGoeje, p. 354, footnote *e*. Also Index to *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, vol. i, p. 644.

[3] *Samrâ'* means "Brown One."

[4] Ar. *'abîd* usually means "black slaves."

[5] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 330.

(meaning the Bath of al-Minjâb ibn-Râshid aḍ-Ḍabbi.) 'Abbâs, a freedman of the banu-Usâmah said,

> "I remember the pool in the Bath of 'Amr,
> And I did not depart until after evening."

The Bath of Balj takes its name from Balj ibn-Nushbah as-Sa'di, of whom Ziyâd said, "And he guarded against the likes of himself, being himself a robber." 355

CHAPTER VI

CASTLES IN AL-BASRAH

Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi says:—The castle of Aus in al-Basrah is named after Aus[1] ibn-Tha'labah ibn-Ruka, one of the banu-Taim-Allâh ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Ukâbah. He was one of the leaders in Khurâsân, where he had engaged in big affairs, and was the man who, passing by Palmyra, said in regard to its two idols:

> "O Maidens of the people of Tadmur, tell me,[2]
> Are ye not weary with long standing?
> It must seem to you as if age after age has passed
> For your people, and year after year."

The castle of Anas is named after Anas ibn-Mâlik al-Anṣâri, the servant of the Apostle of Allah.

The man who built the Minaret of the banu-Usaiyid was Ḥassân ibn-Sa'd, one of that tribe.

The Red Castle belonged to 'Amr ibn-'Utbah ibn-au-Sufyân, but today it belongs to the family of 'Umar ibn-Ḥafs ibn-Ḳabîṣah ibn-abu-Ṣafrah.

The Castle of the Exiles belonged to 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Ziyâd. Al-Ḥajjâj exiled the families of those who fought with 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash'ath al-Kindi to it and confined them it. It is a castle inside of a castle. Behind it is the castle of 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd, and alongside of it is the castle of Jausaḳ.

Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—The Castle of an-Nawâhiḳ [the

[1] Al-Aghâni, vol. iii, p. 20.

[2] Reading *khabbirâni*; *cf.* Ḳazwîni, vol. ii, p. 114.

ass's throat,] which was the castle of Ziyâd, was so nicknamed by the mischievous.

The castle of an-Nu'mân belonged to an-Nu'mân ibn-Ṣaḥbân ar-Râsibi, who judged between the tribes, Muḍar and Rabi'ah, at the time Yazîd ibn-Mu'awiyah died. 'Ubaid allâh ibn-Ziyâd enlarged this house of an-Nu'mân ibn-Ṣuḥbân's for him. But he said, "This is a very poor piece of property, O abu-Ḥâtim.[1] If the water increase, I drown; and if it diminish, I die of thirst." And it turned out just as he said: The water diminished, and everybody there died.

The castle of Zarba was named after Zarba, the freedman of 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir, the superintendent of his horses. 356 This building was the stable for his beasts of burden.

The castle of 'Aṭîyah is ascribed to 'Aṭîyah al Anṣâri.

The mosque of the banu-Ubâd was named after the banu-'Ubâd ibn-Ridâ' ibn-Shakirah ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Tamîm ibn-Murr.

The house of 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami belonged to his aunt, Dajjâjah umm-'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir, who made him a present of it. His name is 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim ibn-Asmâ' ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt, and hers is Dajjâjah bint-Asmâ'.

[1] I. e. 'Ubaidallâh.

CHAPTER VII

Canals and Other Fiefs

Al-Aḥnaf appeals to 'Umar. Al-Madâ'ini from abu-Bakr al-Hudhali, and al-'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from his father from 'Awânah:—Al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais appeared before 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb among some others from al-Baṣrah. 'Umar began questioning them one after another. Al-Aḥnaf was at one side of the house, dressed in a coarse garment, and not joining in the conversation. To him 'Umar said, "Dost thou desire anything?" And he replied, "Yes, indeed! O Commander of the Believers. Behold, the keys of all good are in the hand of Allah. Behold, our brothers of the people of the provinces dwell in the abode of the departed peoples,[1] in the midst of sweet waters and luxuriant gardens, while we dwell in reedy, salty swamps, whose moisture does not dry up, and whose pastures do not grow, whose boundary on the east is the brackish sea, and on the west the waterless plain. We have no cultivated land and no cattle to bring us our profits and our provisions, like the gullet of the ostrich.[2] If a weak man goes to fetch potable water, he has to seek it at a distance of two parasangs. And if a woman goes to fetch it, she has to tie up her children by the neck, as goats are tied, fearful of being assaulted by enemies or eaten by lions. If thou doest not take away our misery and end our destitution, we shall be like a people perished."

[1] I. e. ancient nations, whose lands have long been under cultivation; or, perhaps, the peoples who preceded the Moslems, or those whom the Moslems have expelled.

[2] Proverbial expression; see Lane, *s. v. marî'*.

And so 'Umar included the families of the people of al-Baṣrah in the pension list, and wrote to abu-Mûsa, ordering him to have a canal dug for them.

Al-Ubullah canal.[1] It is related by many learned men that the arm of the Tigris called Dijlat al-'Aurâ (i. e. the Dijlat al-Baṣrah) had originally a mouth, (a natural water-way not dug by any one) through which the rain water flowed to the Dijlah [Tigris], while the waters of the Dijlah flowed back in it at the rising of the tide, and were absorbed into the earth at the ebb. Its length amounted to a parasang, and at the end of it which was near to al Baṣrah there was a wide sink-hole, called in the heathen time al-Ijjânah, and named by the Arabs in the time of Islam al-Juzârah. It was at a distance of three parasangs from al-Baṣrah, by which measurement the whole canal of al-Ubullah was four parasangs. From it issues the canal which is known today as the Nahr al-Ijjânah. 357

When 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb ordered abu-Mûsa to dig a canal for the people of al-Baṣrah, he began the excavation from al-Ijjânah, and continued it three parasangs until he reached al-Baṣrah with it; and so the length of the canal of al-Ubullah became four parasangs. Some time afterwards that part of it which is between al-Baṣrah and Bathḳ[2] al-Ḥîri became filled up. This was a parasang distant from al-Baṣrah.

Ziyâd restores the canal. Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân was in charge of the *dîwân* and the treasury on behalf of 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir ibn-Kuraiz, 'Abdallâh being at that time governor of al-Baṣrah for 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân. 'Uthmân advised ibn-'Âmir to put through the digging of the canal from where it was filled up until he reached al-Baṣrah with it. He was hindered in this and put it off, but when he went off

[1] Same tradition in Ḥamadhâni, *Kitâb al-Buldân*, p. 190.

[2] Ar. *bathḳ* = overflow.

to Khurâsân[1] and left Ziyâd on his place, the latter left the excavation of abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari as it was, and dug the canal from where it had been filled up until he brought it to al-Baṣrah. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakrah had charge of this work. When he let in the water, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân began to race with his horse, and the water almost outstripped him.

Ibn-'Âmir's jealousy. Now when ibn-'Âmir returned from Khurâsân, he was angry with Ziyâd, saying, "Thou only desiredst to take the credit for the canal from me." And the relations between them were strained until they died; and on account of it their children remained estranged.

Other versions. Yûnus ibn-Ḥabîb an-Naḥwi says:—I perceived that the relations between the family of Ziyâd and the family of ibn-'Âmir were strained.

Al-Athram from abu-'Ubaidah: Abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari led the Ubullah canal from the place ad-Ijjânah to al-Baṣrah. Before this the people had obtained their drinking water from a source called Dair Ḳâwûs, starting from the Dijlah four parasangs above al-Ubullah, and flowing through lagoons without cultivation on its banks. But the winds were gradually filling it up.

When Ziyâd had dug the stream of al-Baṣrah, after he got through with repairing the canal of al-Ubullah, ibn-'Âmir returned from Khurâsân, and vilified him, saying, "Thou desiredst the credit of the glory of this canal and its fame." And because of this the relations between them as well as the relations between their families were strained.

Abu-'Ubaidah says:—He[2] dug the stream from next to the house of Fîl, the freedman and chamberlain of Ziyâd, to the site of the bridge. 358

[1] For ibn-'Âmir's expedition to Khurâsân in 31 A. H. see Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2884.

[2] I. e. Ziyâd.

Ma'kil canal. It is related by Muhammad ibn-Sa'd on the authority of al-Wâkidi and others that 'Umar ibn-al-Khattâb ordered abu-Mûsa to dig the other canal,[1] and that he should do it with the assistance of Ma'kil ibn-Yasâr al-Muzani; and so it is named after him.

Al-Wâkidi says:—Ma'kil died in al-Basrah during the administration of 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd over al-Basrah for Mu'âwiyah.

Al-Walid ibn-Hishâm al-Kahdhami and 'Ali ibn-Muhammad ibn-abu-Saif al-Madâ'ini say: — Al-Mundhir ibn-al-Jârûd al-'Abadi proposed to Mu'âwiyah to dig the Thârr canal, but he wrote to Ziyâd, who proceeded to dig the canal of Ma'kil.

Some say:—He constructed it through the agency of Ma'kil ibn-Yasâr, and so it is named after him. But others say:—Not so, but Ziyâd had it constructed with the assistance of 'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-abu-Bakrah or some one else. When he had finished the work and they were ready to open it, Ziyâd sent Ma'kil ibn-Yasâr, and he let in the water, receiving the honor because he was one of the Companions of the Prophet. Consequently the people said, "The canal of Ma'kil."

Al-Kahdhami relates that Ziyâd handed a thousand dirhams to a man, saying to him, "Go up to the Tigris, and ask who is the Master [*sâhib*] of this canal, and if anyone says to thee it is the canal of Ziyâd, then give him the thousand." He went up to the Tigris; then he returned and said, "I found no one who did not say, 'This is the Canal of Ma'kil.'" Then Ziyâd said, "This is the favor of Allah which he bestows upon whom he will."

The Dubais canal is named after a washerman called Dubais who used to wash clothes in it.

The Bathk[2] al-Hîri is named after a Nabatean of al-Hîrah, who is said to have been one of Ziyâd's freedman.

[1] The two canals are the the Nahr al-Ubullah and the Nahr Ma'kil.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 78, note 2.

When Ziyâd had brought the canal of Ma'ḳil as far as his pavilion from which he reviewed the troops, he turned it towards the south so as to bring it out to where the *aṣḥâb aṣ-ṣadaḳah* [1] lived in al-Jabal, and this bend is named the Dubais Canal.

'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir dug his canal which is by the house of Fîl, being the one known as the Asâwirah [2] canal. Some say the Asâwirah dug it.

The 'Amr canal is named after 'Amr ibn-'Utbah ibn-abu-Sufyân.

The Umm-Ḥabîb canal is named after umm-Ḥabîb bint-Ziyâd, and upon it was a castle of many doors named al-Hazârdar.[3]

Al-Hazârdar. 'Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ'ini says:—Shîrawaih al-Uswâri married Marjânah, the mother of 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd, and built for her a castle in which were many doors, and which was called Hazârdar. Abu-l-Ḥasan says:—Some say it was called Hazârdar because Shîrawaih constructed in his castle a thousand doors. But others say that in this place there lived in a thousand lodges a thousand Persian horsemen whom the Kisra maintained there, on which account it was called Hazârdar.

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The Ḥarb Canal. Nahr Ḥarb takes its name from Ḥarb ibn-Salm ibn-Ziyâd. 'Abd-al-A'la ibn-'Abdallâh (ibn-'Abdallâh [4]) ibn-'Âmir put in a claim that the land through which the canal ran had belonged to ibn-'Âmir, and brought suit against Ḥarb for it. When the case was decided in favor of 'Abd-al-A'la, Ḥarb came to him saying, "I con-

[1] Perhaps people who kept a free hospital in al-Jabal; or possibly the collectors of the *ṣadaḳah*-tax.

[2] From Persian *suwâr* = horseman, knight. Persian cavalry or mounted archers; *cf.* Lane, p. 1465, col. b; and *infra* Part XVI.

[3] Persian *hazâr* = thousand + *dar* = door. Meyn., p. 595.

[4] Ms. A omits.

tended with thee for this canal, but I have repented of it, for thou art the *shaikh* and ruler of the tribe, and so the property is thine." 'Abd-al-A'la ibn-'Abdallâh replied, "Nay, but it is thine." And Ḥarb departed. When it was night, the clients [*mawâli*] of 'Abd-al-A'la and his intimate friends came and said, "By Allah, Ḥarb did not come to thee until the case was decided in thy favor and against him." But he said, "By Allah, I will never go back on what I have agreed to him."

The canal known as Yazîdân is named from Yazîd ibn-'Umar al-Usaiyidi, the chief of the guard of 'Adi ibn-Arṭâh,[1] He was prominent among the people of al-Baṣrah in his day.

'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir ibn-Kuraiz gave to 'Abdallâh ibn-'Umair ibn-'Amr ibn-Mâlik al-Laithi (his brother by his mother, Dajjâjah bint-Asmâ ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt as-Salmiyah) 8,000 *Jarîbs*,[2] and dug for them the canal which is known as the Nahr ibn-'Umair.

Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir had dug the Canal of umm-'Abdallâh Dajjâjah, intrusting it to Ghailân ibn-Kharashah aṣ-Ṣabbi. It is the canal about which Ḥârithah ibn-Badr al-Ghudâni said to 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir when he visited him. "I have not seen any canal that was more of a blessing than this one. The weak are able to get water out of it at the very door of their habitations, and their needed food comes to them on it to their very dwelling places. It is also the source of water for their plantings." Ḥârithah visited Ziyâd after this during the term of his governorship, and then said, "I have never seen a canal worse than this one. The dwellings of those near it fairly ooze with water; they are bitten by its mosquitoes in their homes, and in it their children are drowned." Some claim that Ghailân ibn-

[1] Yâķût, vol. iv, p. 1018.

[2] A *jarîb* is about one-third of an acre.

Kharashah was the one who said this, but the former account is the more probable. 360

Nahr Salm is named after Salm ibn-Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân.

Nahr Nâfidh. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir had dug a canal which he intrusted to Nâfidh his freedman, and as his name was more often used in connection with it, it is called the canal of Nâfidh. He belongs to the family of al-Faḍl ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Abbâs ibn-Rabî'ah ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Abd-al-Muṭṭalib.

The fief of al-Abbâs. Abu-l-Yakṭhân says:—'Uthmân ibn-'Affân gave in fief to al-'Abbâs ibn-Rabî'ah ibn-al-Ḥârith a dwelling in al-Baṣrah, and made him a present of 100,000 dirhams. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-'Abbâs was nicknamed Râ'iḍ al-Bighâl [the mule breaker] because he excelled in riding them. He was a leader of the people after ibn-al-Ash'ath escaped to Sijistân, fleeing from al-Ḥajjâj.

Ṭalḥatân is the canal of Ṭalḥah ibn-abu-Nâfi', the freedman of Ṭalḥah ibn-'Ubaidallâh.

Nahr Ḥumaidah is named after a woman of the family of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Samurah ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-'Abd-Shams, who was called Ḥumaidah. She was the wife of 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir.

Khairatân belonged to Khairah bint-Ḍamarah al-Ḳushairîyah, the wife of al-Muhallab; and to her belonged also Muhallabân which al-Muhallab had bestowed upon her. Others say:—Nay, but it belonged to her in the first place, although it is named after al-Muhallab. She was the mother of his son abu-'Uyainah.

Jubairân belonged to Jubair ibn-Ḥaiyah.

Khalafân was a fief of 'Abdallâh ibn-Khalaf al-Khazâ'i, the father of Ṭalḥah at-Ṭalḥât.

Ṭulaiḳân belonged to the family of 'Imrân ibn-Ḥuṣain al-Khazâ'i, one of the children of Khâlid ibn-Ṭulaiḳ ibn-

Muḥammad ibn-'Imrân. Khâlid had charge of the *kâḍis* of al-Baṣrah.

Nahr Murrah. Al-Kaḍhami says:—The canal of Murrah was really ibn'Âmir's, but Murrah the freedman of abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaddîḳ had charge of digging it for him, and so his name became associated with it.

Abu-l-Yaḳthân and other say:—The canal of Murrah was named after Murrah ibn-abu-'Uthmân, the freedman of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaddîḳ. He was a generous fellow. He asked 'Â'ishah the "Mother of the Believers" to write to Ziyâd for him, addressing the letter "To Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân[1] from 'Â'ishah, the Mother of the Believers." She complied, writing the letter for him containing various recommendations, and addressing it according to his suggestion. When Ziyâd saw that she had written to him, ascribing his parentage to abu-Sufyân, he was pleased at this, and showed consideration for Murrah and favored him, saying to everybody, "This is a letter from the Mother of the Believers to me concerning him." And he would show it to them so that they could read the heading of it. He afterwards made him a grant of 100 *jarîbs* on the al-Ubullah canal, bidding him dig a canal for it. This he did, and so it is named after him. 'Uthmân ibn-Murrah was of the nobles of the people of al-Baṣrah. But the fief went out of the hands of his children and came into the possession of the family of aṣ-Ṣafâḳ ibn-Ḥujr ibn-Bujair al-'Iḳawi of the Azd. 361

Darjâh Jank was part of the property of the Thaḳif. It was called this only because of a joke there was about it, *jank* being Persian for "uproar."[2]

Anasân was named after Anas ibn-Mâlik, who acquired it by a grant from Ziyâd.

[1] I have changed the order of words in this passage, but without, I think, altering the sense. *Cf.* Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 844.

[2] Ar. *ṣakhab*.

Nahr Bashshâr is ascribed to Bashshâr ibn-Muslim ibn-'Amr al-Bâhili, the brother of Ḳutaibah. He presented al-Ḥajjâj with a carpet, and the latter returned the compliment by granting him 700 *jarîbs*. (Others say 400 *jarîbs*.) And he dug this canal for them.

Nahr Fairûz is named after Fairûz Ḥuṣain. Others say after Bâshkâr, who was called Fairûz, while al-Ḳaḥdhami says it was named after Fairûz, the freedman of Rabî'ah ibn-Kaladah ath-Thaḳafi.

Nahr al-'Alâ' is ascribed to al-'Alâ' ibn-Sharîk al-Hudhali. He gave something to 'Abd-al-Malik which pleased him, and so he granted him 100 *jarîbs*.

Nahr Dhirâ' is ascribed to Dhirâ' an-Namari of the Rabî'ah (namely abu-Hârûn ibn-Dhirâ').

Nahr Ḥabîb is named after Ḥabîb ibn-Shihâb ash-Sha'mi, the merchant, who acquired it through a grant from Ziyâd. Others say from 'Uthmân.

The Nahr abu-Bakrah is named after abu-Bakrah ibn-Ziyâd.

From al-'Ikawi ad-Dallâl:—The island between the Two Rivers was swampy ground. Mu'âwiyah granted it to a certain one of his brothers' sons. And when the young man came to look at it, Ziyâd had the water turned on; and he sent to see what he would say about it. The young man said, "The Commander of the Believers has only given me a pumpkin for which I have no need." So Ziyâd bought it from him for 200,000 dirhams, and dug its canals and made fiefs out of it.

Rawwâdân belonged to Rawwâd ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Nahr ar-Râ' was so called because there was caught in it a fish called *ar-râ'* [the letter "r"]. Upon it is the land of Ḥumrân which was granted to him by Mu-âwiyah. 362

Nahr Makḥûl takes its name from Makḥûl ibn-'Ubaidallâh al-Aḥmasi. He was the son of the uncle of Shaibân, owner

of the Cemetery of Shaibân ibn-'Abdallâh, who was in charge of the guard of ibn-Ziyâd. Makḥûl used to recite poetry about horses. His fief was from 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Mirwân.

Al-Kaḥdhami says:—Nahr Makḥûl takes its name from Makḥûl ibn-'Abdallâh as-Sa'di.

He also says:—The Shaṭṭ 'Uthmân was bought by 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thakafi from 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân in exchange for some property he had in aṭ-Ṭâ'if. Others say:—He bought it in exchange for a house he had in al-Madînah, whose site 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân incorporated into the mosque. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi granted Ḥafṣân to his brother, Ḥafṣ ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi. He granted Umaiyatân to abu-Umaiyah ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi; Ḥakamân to al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi; and to his brother, al-Mughîrah, Mughîratân.

Nahr al-Arḥâ' belonged to 'Amr ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thakafi.

Al-Madâ'ini says:—Ziyâd made a fief out of al-Jamûm (i.e. Ziyâdân) in ash-Shaṭṭ. He said to 'Abdallâh ibn-'Uthmân, "I give only what ye settle on." He would give a man a fief and leave him there for two years, and if he then lived on it, it would be his, and if not he would take it from him.

Al-Jamûm belonged first to abu-Bakrah. Later it came into the possession of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Azraḳân was named after al-Azraḳ ibn-Muslim, a freedman of the banu-Ḥanîfah.

Muḥammadân was named after Muḥammad ibn-'Ali ibn-'Uthmân al-Ḥanafi.

Ziyâdân takes its name from Ziyâd, the freedman of the banu-l-Haitham, who was the grandfather of Mûnas ibn-'Imrân ibn-Jumai' ibn-Yasâr, and the grandfather of 'Îsa ibn-'Umar an-Nahawi and Ḥâjib ibn-'Umar on their mother's side.

The abu-l-Khaṣîb canal takes its name from abu-l-Khaṣîb Marzûk, the freedman of al-Manṣûr, the Commander of the Believers.

Nahr al-Amîr in al-Baṣrah was dug by al-Manṣûr. He afterwards gave it to his son, Ja'far. It used to be called Nahr Amîr al-Mu'minîn, but this was later shortened to Nahr al-Amîr. Finally ar-Rashîd bought it, divided it into fiefs, and sold it off. 363

Nahr Rubba belonging to ar-Rashîd is named after Sûrijah.

'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Abd-al-A'la al-Kuraizi and 'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Umar ibn-al-Ḥakam ath-Thakafi had a dispute about al-Ḳurashi which was finally settled on condition that each one of them take half of it. And then it was called al-Ḳurashi and al-'Arabi.

Al-Ḳandîl, one of the mouths of the Dijlah, was dammed by Sulaimân ibn-'Ali. Upon it was the fief of al-Mundhir ibn-az-Zubair ibn-al-'Awwâm, in which was the canal of an-Nu'mân ibn-al-Mundhir, the lord [*sâḥib*] of al-Ḥîrah. It had been granted to him in the days of Kisra. There was a castle of an-Nu'mân's here.

Nahr Mukâtil was named after Mukâtil ibn-Jâriyah ibn-Ḳudâmah as-Sa'di.

'Amîrân takes its name from 'Abdallâh ibn-'Amîr al-Laithi.

Saiḥân belonged to the Barmecides, who gave it the name Saiḥân.

Al-Jûbarah was so named because the *jûbarah* [1] was caught in it.

Ḥuṣainân belonged to Ḥuṣain ibn-abu-l-Ḥurr al-'Anbari.

'Ubaidallân belonged to 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah.

'Ubaidân belonged to 'Ubaid ibn-Ka'b an-Numairi.

Munkidhân belonged to Munkidh ibn-'Ilâj as-Sulami.

[1] A species of fish; De Goeje, glossary, p. 20.

'Abd-ar-Raḥmânân belonged first to abu-Bakrah ibn-Ziyâd, and abu-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân, the freedman of Hishâm bought it.

Nâfi'ân belonged to Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ath-Thaḳafi.

Aslamâ belonged to Aslam ibn-Zur'ah al-Kilâbi.

Ḥumrânân to Ḥumrân ibn-Abân, the freedman of 'Uthmân.

Ḳutaibatân to Ḳutaibah ibn-Muṣlim.

Khashkhashân to the family of Khaskhash al-'Anbari.

Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—Nahr al-Banât was so named after the daughters of Ziyâd, who granted each daughter 60 *jarîbs*—his usual division. Ziyâd ordered 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Tubba' al-Ḥimyari, who was in charge of his fiefs, to grant to Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ath-Thaḳafi as much as he could walk over. While Nâfi' was walking, his sandal-thong broke, and he sat down. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân said, "So much is thine." And Nâfi' said, "If I had known, verily, I'd have walked to al-Ubullah." Then he said, "Let me take off my sandals." And he threw them until they reached al-Ijjânah. 364

Sa'îdân belonged to the family of Sa'îd ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-'Abâd ibn-Usaid.

Sulaimânân was a fief belonging to 'Ubaid ibn-Ḳusaiṭ, the master of the patrol in the days of al-Ḥajjâj. On it lived an ascetic whose name was Sulaimân ibn-Jâbir, and it was named after him.

'Umarân belonged to 'Umar ibn-'Ubaidallâ ibn-Ma'mar at-Taimi.

Fîlân belonged to Fîl the freedman of Ziyâd.

Khâlidân is named after Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh . . . ibn-Umaiyah.

Nahr Yazîd al-Abâḍi, i.e. Yazîd ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḥimyari.

Al-Mismârîyah was fief of Mismâr, the freedman of Ziyâd. He had an estate in al-Kûfah.

CHAPTER VIII

Canals and other Fiefs

continued

Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—It was Bilâl ibn-abu-Burdah who led the water into the canal of Ma'ḳil at the overflow of al-Baṣrah. Before that time it had been in bad shape, so that the water overflowed as far as the pavilion from which Ziyâd used to review the troops. Bilâl dug Nahr Bilâl, set up shops on its sides, and removed the market thither. This he did for Yazîd ibn-Khâlid al-Ḳasri.

The suit for al-Murghâb fief. Bashîr ibn-'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah dug al-Murghâb and named it after the Murghâb [1] of Marw. The fief through which al-Murghâb flowed belonged to Hilâl ibn-Aḥwaz al-Mâzini, having been granted to him by Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, and consisting of 8,000 *jarîbs*. Bashîr dug al-Murghâb, with ditches and cross canals, in an attempt to gain possession; and said, "This fief belongs to me." But Ḥimyari ibn-Hilâl brought suit against him. Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḳasri wrote to Mâlik ibn-al-Mundhir ibn-al-Jârûd, who was in charge of the law courts of al-Baṣrah, saying, "Adjudge al-Murghâb to al-Ḥimyari," and he complied. This was because Bashîr had criticized Khâlid, accusing him of wrong-doing, and Khâlid had heard of it. 'Amr ibn-Yazîd al-Usaiyidi was on Ḥimyari's side and was helping him, but he said to Mâlik ibn-al-Mundhir, "Allah bless thee! This is not an *adjudging*. It is only a *shifting* of al-Murghâb to Ḥimyari."

[1] LeStr., pp. 397 *et seq.*; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2872.

Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn-Mu'âwiyah, the uncle of al-Aḥnaf, had a fief fronting and abutting on al-Murghâb. His son Mu-'âwiyah came as Ḥimyari's advocate, and when Bashîr said, "this is the pasture of our camels, our cattle, our asses, our mules, and our sheep," Mu'âwiyah exclaimed, "For the sake of a crumpled-horned cow with the diarrhea and an ass in heat dost thou wish to prevail over our legal rights?" Then 'Abdallâh ibn-abu-'Uthmân ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asîd appeared, saying, "It is our land and our fief." To him Mu'âwiyah said, "Hast thou heard of the man who stepped over the fire and the flame went up his anus? —Thou art such a one." 365

Suwaid gains a fief. Suwaidân, a fief whose extent was 400 *jarîbs,* belonged at first to 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah, who gave it to Suwaid ibn-Manjûf as-Sadûsi. This was how it happened: Suwaid became sick, and ibn-abu-Bakrah paid him a visit and said to him, "How dost thou feel?" He answered, "All right, if thou wilt do something." He said, "I will. What is thy wish?" And Suwaid replied, "That thou make me as large a grant as thou didst to ibn-Ma'mar. Then I shall have nothing the matter with me." He granted him the fief which was named Suwaidân after him.

Nahr Yazîd. Al-Madâ'ini says:—Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab dug the Yazîd canal in a fief belonging to 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah, and said to Bashîr ibn-'Ubaidallâh, "Write me a statement to the effect that this canal is my lawful possession." He replied, "Nay, and indeed, even if thou art dispossessed, I shall proceed against thee."

Jabrân belonged to the family of Kulthûm ibn-Jabr.

Nahr ibn-abu-Burdha'ah is named after abu-Burdha'ah . . . . ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Al-Manṣûr confiscates some property. Al-Hasrukânân was a fief belonging to the family of abu-Bakrah. It was

originally [intended to be] 100 *jarîbs,* but al-Manṣûr's surveyors surveyed it [and found it to contain]1,000 *jarîbs.* They left 100 *jarîbs* in the possession of the family of abu-Bakrah, and confiscated the remainder.

Himyân fief belonged to Himyân ibn-'Adi as-Sadûsi.

Kathîrân to Kathîr ibn-Saiyâr.

Bilâlân to Bilâl ibn-abu-Burdah. This fief had belonged to 'Abbâd ibn-Ziyâd, but he sold it.

Shiblân belonged to Shibl ibn-'Amîrah . . . ad-Dabbi.

Nahr Salm is named after Ṣalm ibn-'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Ar-Ribâḥi canal is named after Ribâḥ, a freedman of the family of Jud'ân.

The 'Â'ishah lagoon after 'Â'ishah bint-'Abdallâh ibn-Khalaf al-Khuzâ'i.

Nahr Kathîr. Kathîr ibn-'Abdallâh as-Sulami (the father of al-'Âj, the lieutenant of Yûsuf ibn-'Umar ath-Thakafi over al-Baṣrah) dug himself a canal from Nahr 'Utbah to al-Khastal, and it was named after him. 366

Nahr abu-Shaddâd gets its name from abu-Shaddâd, the freedman of Ziyâd.

Bathk Saiyâr belonged to Fîl, the freedman of Ziyâd, but Saiyâr, the freedman of the banu-'Ukail, was the manager of it, and practically possessed it.

The property of the Iṣbahânis was bought from some Arabs. These Iṣbahânis were a family who professed Islam, and emigrated to al-Baṣrah. Others say they only came with the Asâwirah who settled in al-Baṣrah. [I. e. they did not become Moslems.]

Dâr ibn-al-Iṣbahâni in al-Baṣrah takes its name from 'Abdallâh ibn-al-Iṣbahâni. He had 400 slaves. He met al-Mukhaṭâr ibn-abu-'Ubaid together with Mas'ab [ibn-az Zubair], the latter being at the right of the former.

The Caliph Yazîd confiscates some land. 'Abbâs ibn-

Hishâm from his grandfather from some one of the family of al-Ahtam:—Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik wrote to 'Umar ibn-Hubairah, "The Commander of the Believers has no share in the land of *al-'Arab;* so go to the fiefs there and seize whatever remains there for the Commander of the Believers," 'Umar began to go to one fief after another, asking about them; then he measured them until he lighted upon a piece of land. He asked, "Whose is this?" Its owner answered, "Mine." And 'Umar said, "How is it thine?" The reply was,

> "We inherited it from true fathers,
> And shall bequeath it when we die to our sons."

The people clamored at 'Umar's action, and he desisted.

Saltân is ascribed to aṣ-Ṣalt ibn-Ḥuraith al-Ḥanafi.

Ḳâsimân was a fief of al-Ḳâsim ibn-'Abbâs ibn-Rabî'ah . . . ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalab, which his brother, 'Aun, had inherited from him.

Nahr Khâlidân al-Ajamah belonged to the family of Khâlid ibn-Asîd and the family of abu-Bakrah.

Nahr Ma'sûrân. On Nahr Ma'sûrân lived a scoundrel who slandered and criticized people, and the canal was named after him, for *al-ma'sûr* is Persian for "the sinful", "the scoundrel".

Jubairân also was a fief of Jubair ibn-abu-Zaid of the banu-'Abd-ad-Dâr.

Ma'ḳilân was a fief of Ma'ḳil ibn-Yasâr from Ziyâd. His children say from 'Umar; but 'Umar granted no fiefs in Mesopotamia.

Jandalân belonged to 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Jandal al-Hilâli.

Nahr at-Tût was a fief of 'Abdallâh ibn-Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ath-Thakafi. 367

Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—Nahr Sulaimân ibn-'Ali belonged to Ḥassân ibn-abu-Ḥassân an-Nabaṭi.

Al-Ghauthi canal was in charge of the head of the gar-

rison, whose name was Ghauth, and it was named after him. Others say it was an accessory to the Murghâb canal and was named al-Ghauth [succour].

Dhât al-Ḥifâfain on the Nahr Ma'ḳil and the Dijlah belonged to 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakrah. It was sold to *'Arabi* at-Tammâr, a freedman of Amat-Allâh bint-abu-Bakrah.

Nahr abu-Sabrah al-Hudhali was a fief.

Ḥarbânân was a fief of Ḥarb ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi.

Al-Ḥubâb fief belonged to Ḥubâb ibn-Yazîd al-Mujâshi'i.

Nahr Ja'far belonged to Ja'far, a freedman of Salm ibn-Ziyâd, and was subject to the *kharâj*.

Bathḳ Shîrîn was named after Ṣhîrîn, the wife of Kisra ibn-Hurmuz.

Al-Ḳaḥdhami and al-Madâ'ini say:—Muhallabân, which is known in the Register as the fief of 'Umar ibn-Hubairah, belonged to Hubairah, having been granted to him by Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik when he confiscated the property of Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab, of his brothers, and of his sons. It had formerly belonged to al-Mughîrah ibn-al-Muhallab. In it was a canal which Zâdân Farrûkh had dug and which is known by his name. The fief belongs today to the family of Sufyân ibn-Mu'âwiyah ibn-Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab. He was presented on it to abu-l-'Abbâs, the Commander of the Believers, who gave it to him in fee. The family of al-Muhallab bringing suit over the matter, Sufyân said, "It belonged to al-Mughîrah." They replied, "We grant that; but al-Mughîrah ibn-al-Muhallab died before his father, and his daughter inherited the half. Thou art entitled to thine inheritance from thy mother, but the rest reverts to his (al-Mughîrah's) father, who was one of the heirs." [1] He

[1] On inheritance laws see Juynboll, *Hdb. des Islam. Gesetzws.*, pp. 237 *et seq.*; A. Querry, vol. ii, p. 326.

said, "But al-Mughîrah had a son." To which they replied, "What hast thou to do with the son of al-Mughîrah? Thou dost not inherit from him.. He is only thy uncle." Nevertheless he did not give them anything, although the property amounted to 1,500 *jarîbs*.

Kausajân fief. Kausajân takes its name from 'Abdallâh ibn-'Amr ath-Thakafi al-Kausaj ["having a scanty beard"]. Al-Madâ'ini says that Kausajân belonged to abu-Bakrah, and his brother, Nâfi', contested his right to it. The two of them went out to it, and each one of them laid claim to it. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Amr al-Kausaj went out and said to them, "I see you contending with one another. Now appoint me as judge." Upon their doing so, he said, "I have adjudged it to myself." And they let him have it. 368

Another account says:—Al-Kausaj had no place to water his cattle, so he said to abu-Bakrah and Nâfi', "Assign me a watering place the length of a leap." They agreed to this, and he leaped, it is said, thirty cubits.

Ṣadaḳah and Kharâj in al-Furât.[1] There were some lands in al-Furât whose owners accepted Islam when the Moslems entered, and other lands which passed from the possession of the original owners into the hands of the Moslems by gift and otherwise, for reasons of state, and so became tithe-land, while before it had been subject to the *kharâj*. Al-Ḥajjâj made it *kharâj* land again. Later 'Umar ibn-'Abdal-'Azîz turned it back to *ṣadakah* land. Then 'Umar ibn-Hubairah made it subject once more to the *kharâj*. When Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became governor, he turned part of it back to *ṣadaḳah*, and finally al-Mahdi, the Commander of the Believers, made it all *ṣadakah* land.

[1] For *ṣadaḳah* and *kharâj*, see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam, s. vv.*; and von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients,* vol. i, pp. 59 *et seq.*; Hitti, p. 25, note 2.

Ja'farân belonged to umm-Ja'far bint-Majzâh ibn-Thaur as-Sadûsi, wife of Aslam, the owner of Aslamân.

Holdings of the family of Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik. Al-Kaḥdhami says:—Arḳam ibn-Ibrâhîm told me that he saw Ḥassân an-Nabaṭi showing from the Bridge ('Abd-al-A'la ibn-'Abdallâh was with him) how everything on the bank of the Nahr al-Faiḍ belonged to the children of Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, and when he reached the property of 'Abd-al-A'la he ceased to measure. But when the Blessed Dynasty[1] came in, all this was confiscated.

Abu-Ja'far bequeathed al-Jabân together with the rest of his bequests to the people of al-Madînah.

Al-Mahdi granted al-'Abbâsah to his daughter, the wife of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ash-Sharḳi.

Al-Mahdi granted al-'Abbârah to his daughter, the wife of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ash-Sharḳi.

'Abbâdân. 'Abbâdân was one of the fiefs of Ḥumrân ibn-Abân, the freedman of 'Uthmân, granted by 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân. (Part of it according to another account was granted by Ziyâd.) Ḥumrân was one of the captives taken at 'Ain at-Tamr. He claimed to be descended from an-Namir ibn-Ḳâsiṭ. Al-Ḥajjâj said one day, 'Abbâd ibn-Ḥuṣain al-Ḥabiṭi being with him, "What does Ḥumrân say? If he tries to trace his ancestry back to the free, desert Arabs, and does not add that his father was Ubaiy, who was a freedman of 'Uthmân, I'll wring his neck." 'Abbâd departed from the presence of al-Ḥajjâj in haste and reported his words to Ḥumrân, who gave to him the western side of the canal, keeping the eastern side as a mortmain. And thus it came to be named after 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain.

Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi says:—The first to settle in 'Abbâdân was 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain. 369

[1] I. e. the Abbâsides, indicating that Balâdhuri was of their party.

Ar-Rabî' ibn-Ṣubḥ al-Faḳîh,[1] a freedman of the banu-Sa'd, went about collecting money from the people of al-Baṣrah, and by means of it built a wall around 'Abbâdân, and settled there. It is related on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri that ar-Rabi' went on a raid to al-Hind [India] by sea, and died, and was buried in one of the islands in the year 160.

Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—Khâlidân al-Ḳaṣr and Khâlidân Ḥabsâ' belonged to Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asîd. Khâlidân belonged to Yazîd ibn-Ṭalḥah al-Ḥanafi, whose *kunyah* was abu-Khâlid.

Nahr 'Adi was a channel of the river of al-Baṣrah until 'Adi ibn-Arṭâh al-Fazâri, the *'âmil* of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz, separated it from the Bathḳ Shîrîn.

Fiefs of Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab. Sulaimân granted to Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab as much of al-Baṭîḥah as he could put under cultivation. He cultivated ash-Sharḳi, al-Jabân, al-Khast, ar-Riḥiyah, Mughîratân, and others, and they became an estate. Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik confiscated them. Later Hishâm granted it in fee to his son. Then after that it became an estate again.

'Abbâsân. Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—Al-Ḥajjâj granted 'Abbâsân in fee to Khairah bint-Ḍamarah al-Ḳushairîyah, wife of al-Muhallab. But Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik confiscated it, and granted it to al-'Abbâs ibn-al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik. It was later confiscated again, and abu-l-'Abbâs, the Commander of the Believers, granted it to Sulaimân ibn-'Ali.

Al-Ḳâsimîyah consisted of land left by the recession of the water. Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sulaimân, the freedman of Ziyâd, forged a document which claimed that it was from Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah, who granted it to him in fee.

[1] A *faḳîh* is a man learned in law.

Al-Khâlidîyah, the property of Khâlid ibn-Ṣafwân ibn-al-Ahtam, formerly belonged to al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sulaimân.

Al-Mâlikîyah belonged to Mâlik ibn-al-Mundhir ibn-al-Jârûd.

Al-Ḥâtimîyah belonged to Ḥâtim ibn-Ḳabîṣah ibn-al-Muhallab.

'Adi canal. I was told by several Baṣrans that 'Adi ibn-Arṭâh wrote to 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-Azîz, who ordered the Baṣrans to write in regard to digging a canal for them. Waki' ibn-abu-Sûd at-Tamîmi wrote to him as follows: "If thou dost not dig a canal for us, then al-Baṣrah is no fit place for us to live in." It is said that 'Adi was seeking 370 in this way to injure Bahz ibn-Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab; and he succeeded. 'Umar wrote giving him permission to dig a canal, and he dug Nahr 'Adi. When the people went out to look at it, 'Adi put al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri upon the ass upon which he himself had been riding, and walked instead.

Water for drinking. When 'Abdallâh ibn-'Umar ibn-Abd-al-'Aziz came as governor of al-'Irâḳ in behalf of Yazid ibn-al-Walîd, the people of al-Baṣrah came to him, complaining of the saltiness of their water, and brought to him two glass bottles, in one of which was some of the water of al-Baṣrah, and in the other some of the water of al-Baṭîḥah.[1] He saw the difference between the two; and they said, "Behold, if thou dig for us a canal, we shall be able to drink of this palatable water." So he wrote about this to Yazîd who replied, "[Even] if the expense of this canal equals the taxes of al-Irâḳ which we have in our possesion, expend them upon it." And so he dug the canal which is known as Nahr ibn-'Umar.

A man said once in audience wth ibn-'Umar, "By Allah,

[1] Baṭîḥah and its plural Baṭâ'iḥ (lit. "butterfly") are interchangeable as the proper name for the Great Swamp above Baṣrah. *Cf.* Hitti, pp. 453 *et seq.*

I estimate that the cost of this canal will amount to 300,000 dirhams or more." To which ibn-'Umar replied, "If it equalled all the taxes of al-'Irâḳ, verily, I would spend them on it."

The *wâlis* and the nobles in al-Baṣrah used to consider the water from the Dijlah palatable, digging themselves cisterns. Al-Ḥajjâj had a notable cistern there in which he collected rain water. Ibn-'Umar, Ziyâd and ibn-Ziyâd had cisterns which they permitted the people to use.

Buildings of al-Manṣûr. The first time al-Manṣûr entered al-Baṣrah, he built there his castle near the great dam. This was in the year 142. On his second entering he built the Oratory in al-Baṣrah. (Al-Ḳaḥdhami says the great dam is of Moslem origin.)

Waḳf of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân. Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ibn-'Ali gave as a pious foundation [*waḳf* [1]] a piece of property of his near some water tanks which he had built in al-Baṣrah, the income of which was expended upon the water-wheels, and the camels, and their general upkeep.

Sulaimân improves the water supply. Rauḥ ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min from his uncle abu-Hishâm from his father who says:—The people of al-Baṣrah went to ibn-'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz in Wâsiṭ and asked him to dig them a canal; so he dug for them Nahr ibn-'Umar. But the supply of water which it brought was slim and scanty, while the overflow from al-Baṭîḥah went into the Nahr ad-Dair. The people used to go to al-Ubullah for drinking water, until Sulaimân ibn-'Ali came to al-Baṣrah and erected al-Mughîthah and built dams for it upon al-Baṭîḥah, storing up the water from Nahr ad-Dair, and letting it out into the Nahr 371

[1] Among the Moslems funds or properties were often set apart in *waḳf* or mortmain for the support of charitable and benevolent institutions.

ibn-'Umar. He expended on al-Mughîthah 1,000,000 dirhams. The people of al-Baṣrah complained to Sulaimân of the saltiness of the water and of the amount of sea water that came to them; so he dammed al-Ḳandal, and their water became palatable. Sulaimân ibn-'Ali bought with his own money the site of the prison in Dâr ibn-Ziyâd and used it for a prison. He also dug the pool in ad-Dahnâ' (i. e. the Square of the banu-Hâshim).

"Crown lands" of al-Baṣrah. I was told by some learned men about the crown lands]*ḍiyâ'*] of al-Baṣrah, to wit:—The Shu'aibîyah, a people living on the Euphrates, established them for 'Ali, the son of the Commander of the Believers, ar-Rashîd, on condition that they should be his farmers on it and that he should lighten their burdens. After discussion of the matter, a tenth of the *ṣadaḳah* was fixed upon, and 'Ali bound himself by oath to the people on terms agreeable to them. 'Ali's advocate in this affair was Shu'aib ibn-Ziyâd al-Wâsiṭi, (one of whose children had a house in Wâsiṭ on the Dijlah,) and the estate was named after him.

The draining of as-Subaiṭîyah. It was told by a number of men of al-Baṣrah, among them Rauḥ ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min, that when Sulaimân ibn-'Ali constructed al-Mughîthah, al-Manṣûr was eager to drain off an estate from al-Baṭîḥah; and ordered the construction of as-Subaiṭîyah. Sulaimân ibn-'Ali was displeased at this and the people of al-Baṣrah also. They therefore assembled at the door of 'Abdallâh ibn-'Ali, who at that time was wth his brother, Sulaimân, fleeing from al-Manṣûr, and cried out, "O Commander of the Believers, come to us; let us make a convenant with thee." But Sulaimân drove them away, and when he had dispersed them, he dispatched to al-Manṣûr Suwwâr ibn-'Abdallâh at-Tamîmi, also called al-'Anazi and Da'ûd ibn-abu-Hind, a freedman of the banu-Bashîr, and Sa'îd ibn-

abu-'Arûbah (the name of abu-'Arûbah is Bihrân). They came before al-Manṣûr bringing a map of al-Baṭîḥah, and told him they were afraid their water would be made salty. He said, "I don't see it as ye do." But he commanded to stop the work. Afterwards he went to al-Baṣrah and gave orders for as-Subaiṭiyah to be drained. And it was drained for him. Now part of it was a thicket belonging to a feudal chief, Subaiṭ by name. The overseer who was intrusted with the task of managing the estate and having it drained withheld from Subaiṭ part of the price of his thicket, and Subaiṭ kept calling for the rest of the price of his thicket at al-Manṣûr's door, and visiting his office about the matter until he died. The estate was named after him because of this thicket of his, and is called as-Subaiṭiyah. 372

Wakf of umm-'Abdallâh. The Kurrah Bridge in al-Baṣrah is named after Kurrah ibn-Ḥaiyân al-Bâhili. Beneath it was an old canal which umm-'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir sold, endowing with the proceeds thereof a fountain for the people of al-Baṣrah. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir sold the market and likewise gave the money as alms.

'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd, on the day that the death of Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah was announced, was crossing over the Nahr umm-'Abdallâh, when he stumbled over a palm tree which he then ordered to be cut down. He also pulled down the Bath of Ḥumrân ibn-Abân, whose site was where today the viols are made.

Al-Ḥâmirah mosque. The mosque of al-Ḥâmirah is named after a family that had come to al-Yamâmah as Persians from 'Umân. From there they went to al-Baṣrah on donkey-back, and took up their residence near this mosque. Some say that they originally built it and that it was reconstructed afterwards.

Al-Minjashânîyah. 'Ali al-Athram from abu-'Ubaidah from abu-'Amr ibn-al-'Alâ':—Ḳais ibn-Mas'ûd ash-Shai-

bâni, who governed aṭ-Ṭaff on behalf of Kisra, constructed al-Minjashânîyah [1] six miles from al-Baṣrah. This was run with the help of a hired man called Minjashân, from whom it takes its name. Above this was the horse pasture in which his colts used to graze.

Ibn-al-Kalbi says:—The water which is known as al-Ḥau'ab was named after al-Ḥau'ab bint-Kalb ibn-Wabarah, who lived at the house of Murr ibn-Udd ibn-Ṭâbikhah.

The Ḍarîyah *ḥima* [2] takes its name from Ḍarîyah bint-Rabi'ah ibn-Nizâr, who was the mother of Ḥulwân ibn-'Imrân ibn-al-Ḥâf ibn-Ḳadâ'ah. Ḥulwân is named after this Ḥulwân.

[1] A watering place on the road from Basrah to Mekkah. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 658.

[2] Hitti, p. 23, note 2.

PART XVI
KHUZISTÂN

CHAPTER I

CONCERNING THE ASÂWIRAH [1] AND THE ZUTT [2]

The Persian cavalry join the Moslems. It has been told me by many men of learning:—Siyâh al-Uswâri was in command of the vanguard of Yazdajird.[3] Later he sent 373 him to al-Ahwâz,[4] but he encamped at al-Kalbâni'yah while abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari was investing as-Sûs. When Siyâh beheld the victories of Islam and the power of its people, (for as-Sûs fell and reinforcements kept coming to abu-Mûsa,) he sent to the Moslem commander, saying, "Behold, we are desirous of entering with you into your religion, on condition that we help you fight your foreign enemies, but that if there arise a difference amongst you, we are not to fight with some of you against others of you; and that if we have war with the [heathen] Arabs, you will grant us help and defense against them; and that we be permitted to settle in whatever part of the country we please, and live among whichever of your tribes we choose; and that we receive the maximum stipend; and that a covenant to this effect be given us by the commander who sent you." Abu-Mûsa replied, "Nay, but ye shall have the same rights and obligations that we have." They said, "We do not want

[1] See *supra*, p. 81, note 2; Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2562-3.

[2] The Gypsies (Persian *Jat*), originating in India. Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 761; Iṣṭakhri, pp. 171 *et seq.*; 180; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1061; LeStr., pp. 244, 331.

[3] Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2562-4.

[4] Ahwâz is in form a plural of *Hûz* = *Khûz* (from which Khûzistân). LeStr., pp. 233-234. *Sûḳ al-Ahwâz* = "the market of the Hûzes."

that." And so abu-Mûsa wrote about this to 'Umar, who wrote back to him, "Give them all they have asked."

They proceeded until they overtook the Moslems, and were with abu-Mûsa at the siege of Tustar.[1] But they did not strike a single blow; and abu-Mûsa said to Siyâh, "O helper! You and your friends are not what we thought you to be." To this he replied, "I told thee that our way of thinking was not like yours, seeing that we have no *harems* among you for which to fear and to fight. We entered into this religion from the very beginning only as a refuge, and in the hope that [your] Allah was one who provides abundant sustenance." Then abu-Mûsa assigned to them the maximum stipend.

They become allies of the Tamîm. When they came to al-Baṣrah, they asked, "Which of the tribes is nearest akin to the Apostle of Allah?" The answer was "the banu-Tamîm." Now they had intended allying themselves with the Azd, but they gave that up, and became allies of the banu-Tamîm. Then their quarters were marked out for them, and they settled down, and dug their canal, which is the one known as the Nahr al-Asâwirah. (Some say that 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir dug it.)

They quarrel with the Tamîm. Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ'ini says:—Sîrawaih al-Uswâri wanted to settle among the Bakr ibn-Wâ'il with Khâlid ibn-al-Mu'ammar and among the banu-Sadûs, but Siyâh was opposed to this, and so they settled among the banu-Tamîm. There are today none of the Azd nor of the 'Abd-Shams in al-Baṣrah. To the Asâwirah were joined the Sayâbijah,[2] who before the time of

[1] Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 847-848; Meyn., pp. 135 *et seq.*; LeStr., *loc. cit.*

[2] Mariners and longshoremen in the parts of the coast. Wellhausen, vol. vi, p. 20, note 1; *Aghâni*, vol. xiv, p. 46, has Satâyijah; Athîr, vol. ii, p. 281, Sabâbijah; *cf.* Tabari, vol. i, p. 1961. They probably came originally from India and Malasia.

Islam had been on the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and likewise the Zuṭṭ, who had been on the borders [*ṭufûf*], following the pasture. After the Aṣâwirah, the Zuṭṭ, and the Sayâbijah had combined, the banu-Tamîm had a disagreement with them, and quarrelled with them, until finally the Asâwirah went to the banu-Sa'd, while the Zuṭṭ and the Sayâbijah went to the banu-Ḥanṭhalah, with whom they remained, fighting against the polytheists. 374

They break their covenant. The Asâwirah went on the expedition of 'ibn-'Âmir to Khurâsân, and so did not take part with the Moslems at the battle of the Camel, nor at Ṣiffîn, nor at any of their battles, until the day of Mas'ûd.[1] But after that battle they were present at ar-Rabadhah,[2] and in the insurrection of ibn-al-Ash'ath[3] they participated on his side. Al-Ḥajjâj [ibn-Yûsuf] punished them severely, razing their houses, annulling their grants,[4] and forcing some of them to emigrate. Said he, " It was in your covenant that ye should not favor some of us against others of us."

Another tradition has it that when the Asâwirah betook themselves to al-Kalbânîyah, abu-Mûsa sent against them ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd al-Ḥârithi, who attacked them. But finally they surrendered on condition that they accept Islam, and join in fighting the enemy; and that they ally themselves with whom they will and settle where they please.

Other Persian deserters. To these Asâwirah there fled some of the [foot] soldiers of the Persians who owned no land; they remained with them after war had laid down its weapons (i e. had ceased) in those regions, continuing with them and entering into Islam.

[1] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 3181.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, pp. 748-749.

[3] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 930-933.

[4] Doubtful whether this refers to grants of land or grants of pensions.

Al-Madâ'ini's version.[1] When Yazdajird went[2] to Iṣbahân, he summoned Siyâh and sent him to Iṣtakhr with 300 men, among whom were seventy of their magnates, with orders to levy whom he would of the people and the soldiers of every region. Afterward Yazdajird followed him, and upon arriving at Iṣtakhr, sent Siyâh to as-Sûs, which abu-Mûsa was investing, while al-Hurmuzân he sent to Tustar. Siyâh halted at al-Kalbâniyah. The people of as-Sûs, when the news of Yazdajird and his flight reached them, asked abu-Mûsa for terms, which he granted them. Siyâh remained in al-Kalbâniyah until abu-Mûsa came to Tustar, when he shifted and established himself between Râmhurmuz and Tustar, until 'Ammar arrived on the scene. Then Siyâh assembled the head men who had accompanied him from Iṣbahân, and said, "Ye know just what we said about these people—that they would conquer this realm, and that their beasts would dung in the palace of Iṣtakhr. Their cause is victorious as ye can see. So look out for yourselves, and enter into their religion." They agreed with him in this, and so he sent to abu-Mûsa a delegation of ten men with Shirawaih, who made a compact on the terms we have described, and accepted Islam.

'Awânah's account. Another than al-Madâ'ini told me on the authority of 'Awânah:—The Asâwirah allied themselves first with the Azd; then they asked which of the two tribes (the Azd and the banu-Tamîm) were nearest to the Prophet and the caliphs in kinship and in influence, and were told "the banu-Tamîm." So they allied themselves with them. The chief of the banu-Tamîm at that time was al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais. There was present at the battle of ar-Rabadhah in the days of ibn-az-Zubair a number of these

[1] Khaldûn, vol. ii, app. 113.

[2] I. e. after the battle of Jalûla'.

Asâwirah. They killed a considerable number of the enemy with their many arrows. Not a single one of them missed his mark.

As for the Sayâbijah, the Zuṭṭ, and the Andaghâr,[1] they were in the army of the Persians, and consisted of people of as-Sind who had been taken captive and then enrolled in the ranks, together with the very raider who had captured them. When they heard what had happened in the case of the Asâwirah, they accepted Islam, coming to abu-Mûsa, who settled them in al-Baṣrah as he had the Asâwirah.

Tribes from as-Sind. Rauḥ bin-'Abd-al-Mu'min from Ya'ḳûb ibn-al-Ḥadrami from Sallâm who says:—There were brought to al-Ḥajjâj some of the Zuṭṭ of as-Sind and a number of different tribes from that province, accompanied by their families, their children, and their buffaloes, and he settled them in the lower parts of Kaskar.[2] (Rauḥ goes on to say:—) They possessed themselves of al-Baṭîḥah[3] and multiplied therein.

They become rebellious. Some time afterwards there took refuge with them a number of fugitive black slaves, and *mawâli* of Bâhilah,[4] and dependents of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ibn-'Ali, and others, who encouraged them to highway robbery, and to take up arms in rebellion against the sultân.[5] Up to this time they had contented themselves with asking some small doles, or taking away the best that the people who came in ships had, by cheating them to the best of their ability.

'Ujaif suppresses the outlaws. During part of the rule

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 111.

[2] Kaskar of al-'Irâḳ; LeStr., p. 43.

[3] The swampy land between Wâsiṭ and Basrah. Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 668-669; vol. ii, p. 761; Hitti, pp. 453 *et seq.*

[4] An Arab tribe.

[5] I. e. the caliph.

of al-Ma'mûn people had to give up passing along through them, and all the traffic of merchandise from al-Basrah in ships was cut off from Baghdâdh. When al-Mu'taṣim-billâh became caliph,[1] he devoted his attention to them, and appointed to wage war against them a man of the people of Khurâsân called 'Ujaif ibn-'Anbasah,[2] supplying him with a contingent of officers and foot soldiers, and not refusing him any amount of funds he asked for. He organized between al-Baṭâ'iḥ and Madînat al-Salâm [Bagdad] a troop of horse, lean and shorn of tails. On a certain day or the first of the night news of the Zuṭṭ was brought to him in Madînat al-Salâm, and 'Ujaif ordered the water shut off, which was done in spite of great difficulties, so that they were taken without any casualties. 'Ujaif transported them to Madînat as-Salâm in small boats, and put some of them in Khânikîn[4] and the rest of them he scattered in 'Ain Zarbah and the frontier. 376

Sayâbijah in the treasury of al-Baṣrah. A number of the Sayâbijah were appointed in the treasury of al-Baṣrah as agents. It is said that there were 40 of them. Others say 400. When Ṭalḥah ibn-'Ubaidallâh and az-Zubair ibn-al-'Awwâm came to al-Baṣrah ('Uthmân ibn-Ḥunaif the Anṣâri had been in charge of it previous to 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib), they refused to hand over the treasury at the accession of 'Ali. The appointees of 'Ali came upon them by stratagem and killed them, 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair having charge of the affair together with a number who hastened to join him. Over the Sayâbijah at that time was abu-Salimah az-Zuṭṭi, an upright man.

Zuṭṭ and Sayâbijah taken to the west. Mu'âwiyah trans-

[1] In the year 218 (833).

[2] Huart, vol. i, pp. 303-304; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1167 *et seq.*

[4] LeStr., pp. 61-62.

ported the original Zuṭṭ and Sayâbijah to the coast of Sha'm [Syria] and Anṭâkiyah by kindly methods.[1] Al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik also removed a part of the Zuṭṭ to Anṭâkiyah and its environs.

Emigrants from Bukhârâ. 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd enslaved some of the people of Bukhârâ. (Others say:—Not so, but they settled in obedience to an edict of his. Still, others say:—Not so, but he invited them, offering them security and a fixed stipend; and they settled on these conditions, and he established them in al-Baṣrah at their own request.) When al-Ḥajjâj built the city of Wâsiṭ he removed a great many of them to that city. Some of their descendants are there today, of whom is Khâlid ash-Shâṭir, known as ibn-Marakili. He says the Andaghâr come from the regions of Kirmân where it adjoins Sijistân.

[1] Ar. *bashar*.

CHAPTER II

THE DISTRICTS OF AL-AHWÂZ

Sûḳ al-Ahwâz. Al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah raided Sûḳ al-Ahwâz during his rule, while 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân was away from al-Baṣrah, in the last of the year 15 or the beginning of the year 16. Al-Birwâz, their *dihḳân,* fought with him, but finally made peace for a payment of money. Afterwards he broke the treaty, and abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari raided the city, when 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb made him governor of al-Baṣrah after Mughîrah. He subdued Sûḳ al-Ahwâz by assault, and conquered Nahr Tîra in the same way, and governed this place himself in the year 17.

The accounts of abu-Mihnaf and al-Wâḳidi. Abu-Mûsa came to al-Baṣrah and had Ziyâd write[1] [to the caliph], and 377 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb sent 'Imrân ibn-al-Ḥuṣain al-Khuzâ'i, assigning him to teach the people jurisprudence and the Ḳurân and to be the lieutenant of abu-Mûsa when he was away from al-Baṣrah. Abu-Mûsa went to al-Ahwâz and kept on conquering village after village[2] and canal after canal, and the Persians fled before him. He overcame the whole of the land except as-Sûs, Tustar, Manâdhir, and Râmhurmuz.

'Umar orders the captives set free. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from Marḥûm al-'Aṭṭâr from his father from Shuwais al-'Adawi who says:—We came to al-Ahwâz in which were some of the Zuṭṭ and of the Asâwirah. We fought with

[1] Or "had Ziyâd as secretary."

[2] Ar. *rustâk.* Properly the district around a village.

them fiercely and defeated them, conquering and overcoming them, and making many captives whom we divided among ourselves. But 'Umar wrote to us, "It is not possible for you to inhabit the land; so release whatever captives are in your possession, and assess the *kharâj* upon them." Accordingly we set free the captives, and did not keep possession of them.

Al-Muhâjir devotes himself to martyrdom. Abu-Mûsa went also to Manâdhir and shut in its people, fighting fiercely with them. Al-Muhâjir ibn-Ziyâd al-Ḥârithi, the brother of ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd ibn-ad-Daiyân, was among the troops. He was determined to devote himself,[1] and was fasting in preparation. Ar-Rabî' told abu-Mûsa, "Behold, al-Muhâjir has resolved to devote himself, and is fasting." And abu-Mûsa said, "I have resolved that every faster shall break his fast or not go out to fight." So al-Muhâjir took a drink of water, but he said, "I have obeyed the resolve of my commander. By Allah, I did not drink it from thirst." Then he went away with his sword and fought until he was martyred. And the people of Manâdhir took his head and set it up on their castle between two battlements.

About him was said the following:

"And in Manâdhir when they all were warring,
Al-Muhâjir went in fulfilment of an oath, with camels;
And his house, the house of the banu-d-Daiyân, we know
Among the family of Madhḥij as the pearl of great price."

Manâdhir taken. Abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari appointed ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd as his lieutenant over Manâdhir and went on to as-Sûs. Ar-Rabî' subdued Manâdhir by force, killing its fighting men and making captives of the women and children. Manâdhir al-Kubra and aṣ-Ṣughra[2] both came 378

[1] I. e. to fight until killed, thus winning the reward of a martyr.

[2] I. e. "the Greater and the Less." Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 644; Meyn., pp. 541-2.

into the possession of the Moslems, and over the two of them abu-Mûsa apointed as governor 'Âṣim ibn-Ḳais ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt as-Sulami; and over Sûḳ al-Ahwâz he appointed Samurah ibn-Jundab al-Ḳazâri, an ally of the Anṣâr.

Some say that 'Umar wrote to abu-Mûsa, while he was besieging Manâdhir, ordering him to appoint a lieutenant for that task, and to proceed himself to as-Sûs. So he appointed ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd.

Al-Muhallab's account.[1] Sa'dawaih from Sharîk from abu-Isḥâḳ from al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah who says:—We besieged Manâdhir and took captives among the booty. But 'Umar wrote that Manâdhir was as one of the cities of as-Sawâd,[2] saying, "Set free those whom ye have made captive."

The taking of as-Sûs. Abu-Mûsa went to as-Sûs [3] and attacked its people. Then he besieged them until what food they had was consumed, and they were reduced to surrender. Their *marzubân* asked for safe-conduct to be given to eighty of them on condition that they open the gates of the city and surrender it. But when he named the eighty he left himself out, and abu-Mûsa ordered that he be beheaded. No harm was done to the eighty, but all the fighting men except them were put to death, their property seized, and their households enslaved.

The tomb of Daniel.[4] Abu-Mûsa saw in their citadel a house upon which was a veil, and upon asking about it, was told that in it were the remains of Daniel the prophet. (Peace be upon him and upon the [other] prophets of Allah and upon his apostles.) Now the people of as-Sûs had been

[1] Bakri, pp. 543-4.

[2] "The Black Ground;" i. e. the alluvial plain which forms the southern half of Mesopotamia. LeStr., p. 24.

[3] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2562; Meyn., p. 327; LeStr., p. 240.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 188-189; Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2566-7.

smitten with drought, and had asked the Babylonians to send Daniel to them in order that they might secure rain by his help. This was done. (Bakht Naṣṣar[1] had taken Daniel captive and had brought him to Babylon.) Thus Daniel came to die in Manâdhir. Abu-Mûsa wrote about this to 'Umar, who replied, "Wrap him in a shroud and bury him." Abu-Mûsa dammed up a river until he could bury him [in the river bed] while it was stopped. Then he let the water flow above him.

The account of Khâlid ibn-Zaid al-Muzani. Abu-'Ubaid al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Marwân ibn-Mu'âwiyah from Ḥumaid aṭ-Ṭawîl from Ḥabîb from Khâlid ibn-Zaid al-Muzani, whose eye was put out at as-Sûs, and who says:—We besieged that city under the command of abu-Mûsa, and [at first] we met with resistance. Then the *dihḳân* made terms with abu-Mûsa, offering to open the city to him in return for safe-conduct from him for one hundred of its people. This he did after making a covenant with abu-Mûsa, who said to him, "Choose them out." While he was choosing them, abu-Mûsa said to his followers, "I hope that Allah will take his life." And when he had chosen the hundred, Allah's foe remained, and abu-Mûsa gave orders that he should be put to death; and although he cried out, "If thou wilt spare me, I will give thee a great sum of money," the commander refused and had him beheaded. 379

Reduction of Râmhurmuz. Abu-Mûsa made a truce with the people of Râmhurmuz,[2] but they broke their truce; so he sent to them abu-Miryam al-Ḥanafi, who made a new treaty with them for 800,000 dirhams [annual tribute].

Another account. Rauḥ ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min from Ya'ḳûb from abu-'Âṣim ar-Râmhurmuzi, who was about 100 years old, and who says:—Abu-Mûsa made terms with the people

[1] Nebuchadnezzar.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 738; Meyn., pp. 254-5; LeStr., pp. 243, 247.

of Râmhurmuz for [an annual tribute of] eight or nine hundred thousand [dirhams.] Later they acted treacherously, and were subdued after a campaign which abu-Mûsa fought in the latter part of his life.

Surraḳ. Abu-Mûsa conquered Surraḳ,[1] giving them similar terms to those of Râmhurmuz. Some time after they rebelled, and he sent against them Ḥârithah ibn-Badr al-Ghudâni with a scratch army, but he failed to bring them to terms. When 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir arrived, he reduced them by assault. This Ḥârithah was afterwards governor of Surraḳ. In regard to him abu-l-Aswad ad-Du'ali says:

"Tell ibn-Badr: Thou that rulest an empire,
Be in it like a rat, cautious and lurking.
For all men are either liars,
Saying what serves their desires, or truthful,
Uttering vain imaginings or guesses,
And if asked for proofs, they are dumbfounded.
But be not faint-hearted, for that is the worst habit,
For thy portion hath been stolen (*surraḳ*) from rich two-fold 'Irâḳ."

When the verses reached Ḥârithah he said: 380

"May the God of men grant thee his best reward,
For thou givest useful [counsel and] sufficient advice.
Thou bid'st me be resolute. Hadst bidden otherwise,
Thou hadst found me rebellious 'gainst thy order."

Tustar. Abu-Mûsa went to Tustar,[2] in which was concentrated the main strength of the enemy. He wrote to 'Umar for reinforcements, and 'Umar wrote to 'Ammâr ibn-Yâsir, ordering him to take him troops from al-Kûfah. 'Ammâr put Jarîr ibn-'Abdallâh al-Bajali in charge, and marched until he came to Tustar. In command of his right wing (He means abu-Mûsa's right wing.) was al-Barâ' ibn-Mâlik, the brother of Anas ibn-Mâlik; over his

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 80; Meyn., p. 309; LeStr., p. 242.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 847-8; Meyn., pp 135-6; LeStr., pp. 233-236.

left wing was Majzâh ibn-Thaur as-Sadûsi; and in command of the horse was Anas ibn-Mâlik. In command of 'Ammâr's right wing was al-Barâ' ibn-'Âzib, the *Anṣâri*; over his left Ḥudhaifah ibn-al-Yamân al-'Abasi; over his horse Ḳarthah ibn-Ka'b, the *Anṣâri*; and over his infantry an-Nu'mân ibn-Muḳarrin al-Muzani.

Fiercely defended. The people of Tustar opposed them fiercely, but the Baṣrans and Kûfans drove them back until they reached the gates of Tustar. Al-Barâ' ibn-Mâlik fought with them at the gate until he suffered martyrdom. Al-Hurmuzân and his followers retreated into the city in bad condition, 900 of them having been killed on the battle field and 600 captured. These were afterwards beheaded.

Al-Hurmuzân was a native of Mihrajânḳadhaf [1] and had taken part with the Persians at the battle of Jalûlâ'.

Captured through treachery. Then one of the Persians asked for safety in exchange for guiding them to the polytheists' weak spot. He became a Moslem, stipulating that a pension be given to his son and to himself. Abu-Mûsa made a covenant with him to this effect, and sent with him a man of Shaibân, named Ashras ibn-'Auf. Together they waded the Dujail along a row of stones. When they had entered the city in this way, he pointed out al-Hurmuzân to Ashras, who then sent him back to the camp. Abu-Mûsa sent ahead forty men with Majzâh ibn-Thaur and had 200 men follow them up. This took place in the night, with the deserter leading them and taking them into the city. They killed the guards and shouted the *takbîr* upon the ramparts of the city. When al-Hurmuzân heard this he fled to his citadel, where he had his treasures and his possessions. Abu-Mûsa crossed the stream at dawn to enter the city and took possession of it. 381

[1] Or Mihrajânḳadhaḳ; Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 700; Meyn., p. 553; LeStr., p. 202; Hitti, pp. 478-480; Caetani, 21:13, note 2.

Al-Hurmuzân said, "Surely the Arabs were led to our weak spot by some of those with us who saw the rising of the Moslems' cause and the setting of ours."

(The deserter from the Persians set to killing his family and his children and throwing them into the Dujail from fear that the Arabs would outrage them.) [1]

The Persian leader spared. Al-Hurmuzân begged for safe-conduct, but abu-Mûsa refused to grant him this except upon decree of 'Umar. This being agreed upon, abu-Mûsa put to death all those in the citadel who did not have safe-conduct. Al-Hurmuzân was taken to 'Umar and asked him to spare his life. His request was granted.

Al-Hurmuzân assassinated. He was afterwards suspected of conspiring with abu-Lu'lu'ah, a slave of al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah, in the murder of 'Umar; and 'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Umar said to him, "Let us go and look at a horse of mine." He went, followed by 'Ubaidallâh, who struck him with his sword while he was unsuspecting, and killed him.

His audience with 'Umar. Abu-'Ubaid from Marwân ibn-Mu'âwiyah from Ḥumaid from Anas, who says:— We besieged Tustar, and al-Hurmuzân surrendered, and I was the one who brought him to 'Umar, abu-Mûsa sending me. 'Umar said to al-Hurmuzân. "Speak." He said, "Shall I speak as a live man or as a dead man?" 'Umar replied, "Speak. Fear not." Then al-Hurmuzân said, "We, the Persian people, as long as Allah gave us a free hand with you, were overcoming you and killing you. But when Allah became on your side, we had no power over you." 'Umar said, "What sayest thou, O Anas?" I said, "I have left behind me a rankling thorn, an enemy, a dog. If you kill him, his people will despair of life and their thorn will rankle harder; but if you keep him alive, the people will

[1] This seems inconsistent with the agreement made with him by abu-Mûsa. *Cf.* Caetani, *loc. cit.*

want to live." And 'Umar said, "But bless thee! O Anas! He has killed al-Barâ' ibn-Mâlik and Majzâh ibn-Thaur as-Sadûsi." I said, "There is no way for thee to kill him." He said, "And why not? Has he given thee something? Hast thou obtained something from him." I said, "No; but thou hast said to him 'fear not'." And he said, "When? Verily, thou shalt come bringing someone with thee to corroborate thy testimony, or else I will begin by punishing thee." I went out from his presence and found that az-Zubair ibn-al-'Awwâm had remembered what I remembered, and he testified for me, and al-Hurmuzân was released. He confessed Islâm, and 'Umar granted him pardon..

The captives released. Ishâk ibn-abu-Isrâ'îl from ibn-al-Mubârak from ibn-Juraij from 'Atâ' al-Khurâsâni, who says:—You may be sure that Tustar was [taken first] by surrender, and then apostasized, and [this time] the Emigrants invested it, killed the fighting men, and enslaved their households. These remained in the possession of their conquerors until 'Umar wrote, "Release what is in your hands." 382

Jundaisâbûr and al-Kalbânîyah. Abu-Mûsa went to Jundaisâbûr,[1] whose people in dismay asked for peace [*amân*], and he made a treaty with them, agreeing not to kill nor enslave any of them, nor to take away any of their property except their weapons. Part of its population fled to al-Kalbânîyah,[2] and abu-Mûsa sent against them ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd, who attacked them and reduced al-Kalbânîyah. The *Asâwirah* asked for protection [*amân*] which abu-Mûsa granted, and they became Moslems. Others say that they had sought *amân* before this and had found favor with abu-Mûsa and took part at Tustar on the Moslem side. Allah knows best.

[1] Persian Jundî Shâpûr. Yâkût, vol. ii, pp. 130-131; Meyn., p. 169; LeStr., p. 238.

[2] Meyn., p. 170, reads Kaltâniyah.

Ath-Thîbân. 'Umar ibn-Ḥafṣ al-'Umari from abu-Ḥudhaifah from abu-l-Ashab from abu-Rajâ':—Ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd conquered ath-Thîbân by assault on order of abu-Mûsa. They afterwards revolted and Manjûf ibn-Thaur as-Sadûsi reconquered them.

Sanbîl and Aidhaj. Among the places conquered by 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir were Sanbîl [1] and az-Zuṭṭ whose populations had apostatized and with whom some of the Kurds of that region had joined themselves. He also subdued Aidhaj [2] after a fierce fight.

Daurak. Abu-Mûsa conquered as-Sûs, Tustar, and Daurak [3] by assault.

Dhur-Rinâk Al-Madâ'ini:—That ibn-dhul-Ḥarrah al-Ḥimyari conquered the fortress dhur-Rinâk.

Askar Mukram. Al-Madâ'ini from his teachers and 'Umar ibn-Shabbah from Mujâlid ibn-Yaḥya:—Muṣ'ab ibn-az-Zubair appointed Muṭarrif ibn-Sîdân al-Bâhili, a member of the banu-Ji'âwah, to command his guard during part of the period of his governorship of al-'Irâk for his brother, 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair. To Muṭarrif were brought two highwaymen, an-Nâbi ibn-Ziyâd ibn-Ṭhabyân, a member of the banu-'Â'ish ibn-Mâlik ibn-Taim-Allâh ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Ukâbah, and a man of the banu-Numair. He had an-Nâbi put to death but the Numairi he had flogged and discharged. And when Muṭarrif was removed from the command of the guard and became *wâli* of al-Ahwâz, 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd ibn-Ṭhabyân gathered a crowd together and started out after him. The two met and stopped with a canal between them. Muṭarrif ibn-Sîdân crossed over, and ibn-Ṭhabyân immediately leaped upon him, thrust him

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[1] Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 157; Meyn., p. 322; LeStr., p. 244, and note 1.

[2] Or Idhaj. Yâkût, vol. i, p. 416; Meyn., p. 62; LeStr., p. 245.

[3] Yâkût, vol. ii, pp. 618-9; Meyn., pp. 241-2; LeStr., p. 242.

through with his spear, and killed him. Muṣ'ab sent Mukram ibn-Muṭarrif after the slayer. He went until he reached the place which is known today as 'Askar Mukram,[1] but did not meet ibn-Ṭhabyân. The latter met with 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân and with him attacked Muṣ'ab, killed him, and cut off his head. 'Askar Mukram is named after this Mukram ibn-Muṭarrif. Al-Ba'ìth as-Sukkari says:

"We gave ibn-Sidân to drink in an overflowing cup.
It sufficed us, though the best would not have sufficed us."

Others say that 'Askar Mukram was only named after Mukram ibn-al-Fazr, a member of the banu-Ja'wanah ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Numair, whom al-Ḥajjâj had sent on the campaign against Kharzâd ibn-Bâs, the time he rebelled. Mukram came up with him at Aidhaj, but Kharzâd fortified himself in the fortress of that name. When the siege began to drag out, he came down, concealed in a disguise, with the purpose of getting to 'Abd-al-Malik. But Mukram got the better of him and captured him with two pearls in his cap and sent him to al-Ḥajjâj, who beheaded him.

They relate that there was near 'Askar Mukram an old village which the buildings of the city afterwards reached. Then it kept on growing until it was a great city, and the whole thing was called 'Askar Mukram. It is today an extensive metropolis.

Ḥamzah ibn-'Abdallâh. Abu-Mas'ûd from 'Awânah:—'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair appointed as governor of al-Baṣrah Ḥamzah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair, who made an expedition to al-Ahwâz, and when he caught sight of its mountain, he said, "It is like Ḳu'aiḳa'ân."[2]

Name of al-Ahwâz. Ath-Thauri says that al-Ahwâz was called in the Persian Hûzmasîr, and was named [by the

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 676; Meyn., p. 402; LeStr., p. 237.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 146; Meyn., p. 452; Hitti, p. 81.

Arabs] al-Akhwâz, but people changed it and said al-Ahwâz, and he quotes the following verses of al-A'râbi:

> "Do not send me back again to al-Akhwâz
> And Ḳa'ḳa'ân beside the market
> And the river Baṭṭ, which kept me awake at night,
> The mosquitoes in it ruthlessly[1] stinging.
> For what is the joy his soul promised him
> From al-Ḥuṣaini or 'Amr in very sooth?"

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The River al-Baṭṭ. The river al-Baṭṭ is a canal near which was a pasture for ducks [*baṭṭ*]. People in general said "Nahr Baṭṭ" just as they said "Dâr Biṭṭîkh" [melon-patch]. I heard some one say that the canal belonged to a woman called al-Baṭ'ah, and it was named after her, the name being afterwards shortened.

Al-Ahwâz conquered by force. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from Muḥammad ibn-'Abdallâh from az-Zuhri:—'Umar conquered as-Sawâd and al-Ahwâz by force. He was asked to divide this land, but said, "What then shall there be for those Moslems who come after us?" And he put the inhabitants in the category of *dhimmis*.[2]

The 'âmils are accused of graft. Al-Madâ'ini from 'Ali ibn-Ḥammâd and Suḥaim ibn-Ḥafṣ and others:—Abu-l-Mukhtâr Yazîd ibn-Ḳais ibn-Yazîd ibn-aṣ-Ṣa'ik recited to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb some verses about the *'âmils* of al-Ahwâz and others:—

> "Send to the Commander of the Believers a letter and say:
> Verily, thou art the confirmed of Allah to command or forbid.
> Yea, thou art Allah's confirmed among us, and whoever is
> Entrusted with the Lord's commission, I do trust.
> Let not the people of countrysides and towns thoughtlessly
> Swallow up the wealth of Allah in countless dishes.
> Send to al-Hajjâj and learn his account;
> Send to Jaz', and send to Bishr;

[1] Yâḳût, in Meyn., p. 58, reads *ghairi taṣfîḳ* = noiselessly.

[2] Hitti, pp. 422-3.

And do not forget the two Nâfi's, either of them;
Nor ibn-Ghalâb, noblest of the banu-Naṣr;
Nor is 'Âṣim of their number with empty wallet;
Nor that fellow in as-Sûḳ, the *mawla* of banu-Badr.
Send also to an-Nu'mân and learn his account;
And the brother-in-law of banu-Ghazwân I've heard of.
Ask for the money from Shibl and from ibn-Muḥarrish,
For he is notorious among the provincials.
So divide up with them. I pledge my people as thy ransom.
They will be pleased if they leave them half.
But do not call me in to testify, for I
Am hid—though I see the wonder of the age.
We return when they return, and raid when they raid;
How, then, have they abundance, while we have nought?
When the merchant of Dârîn brings a flask of perfume,
It will soon be spread over their hair."

'Umar mulcts them. 'Umar took from those whom abu-l-Mukhtâr mentions half of all their property, even taking one sandal and leaving the other. Among them was abu-Bakrah, who protested, "I have not held any office under thee!" But 'Umar said to him, "Thy brother is in charge of the treasury and the tithes of al-Ubullah, and he lets thee have money with which to engage in trade." And so he took from him 10,000 dirhams. (Others say that he confiscated half his wealth.)

The offices of these 'âmils. The al-Ḥajjâj named here is al-Ḥajjâj ibn-'Atîḳ ath-Thaḳafi, who was in charge of al-Furât. Jaz' ibn-Mu'âwiyah was the uncle of al-Aḥnaf and ruled Surrak. Bishr ibn-al-Muḥtafiz was in charge of Jundaisâbûr. The two Nâfi's are Nufai' abu-Bakrah and his brother, Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaladah. Ibn-Ghalâb is Khâlid ibn-al-Ḥârith of the banu-Duhmân and was in charge of the treasury in Iṣbahân. 'Âṣim ibn-Ḳais ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt as-Sulami was over Manâdhir, and he who was in as-Sûḳ is Samurah ibn-Jundâb in charge of Sûḳ al-Ahwâz. An-Nu'mân ibn-'Adi ibn-Maḍlah ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Ḥurthân of the banu-'Adi ibn-Ka'b ibn-Lu'ai was over the districts of the Tigris. It is he who said:

"Who will tell al-Ḥasnâ' that her beloved
In Maisân is drinking with glass and flagon?
At my desire the burgomasters sing to me,
And the cymbalist sways this way and that.
Perhaps the Commander of the Believers is displeased
At our banqueting in the ruined tower."

'Umar, when these verses reached him, said, "Yes, by Allah, I am indeed displeased at this." And he removed him from office.

The brother-in-law of the banu-Ghazwân is Mujâshi' ibn-Mas'ûd as-Sulami, in whose household was the daughter of 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân. He was in charge of the land of al-Baṣrah and its alms-tax. Shibl ibn-Ma'bad al-Bajali (further surnamed al-Aḥmasi) was in charge of the division of the booty, and ibn-Muḥarrish was over Râmhurmuz.

Land titles adjudicated. 'Ausajah ibn-Ziyâd al-Kâtib says:—Ar-Rashîd the Commander of the Believers granted to 'Ubaidallâh ibn-al-Mahdi the right to farm the land of al-Ahwâz, but some question arose in regard to it, and some one brought the matter to the attention of al-Ma'mûn, who ordered an investigation and adjustment of the case. Titles about which there was no question he confirmed, and what there was any question about he labeled "doubtful" (*mashkûk*). This was well-known in al-Ahwâz. 386

PART XVII

FÂRS AND KIRMÂN

CHAPTER I

Fârs

Abarkâwân. Al-'Alâ ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami the *'âmil* of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb over al-Baḥrain sent Harthamah ibn-'Arfajah al-Bâriḳi of the Azd and he conquered one of the islands in the sea near to Fârs.[1] Then 'Umar wrote to al-'Alâ, to have him (i. e. Harthamah) go to the aid of 'Utbah ibn-Farḳad as-Sulami, which was done.[2] When later 'Umar appointed 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thaḳafi governor of al-Baḥrain and 'Umân, and he had subdued them and brought their inhabitants into obedience, he sent his brother al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi against Fârs by sea with a strong army from the tribes of 'Abd-al-Ḳais, the 'Azd, the Tamîm, the banu-Nâjiyah, and others. Al-Ḥaḳam conquered the island of Abarkâwân;[3] later he went as far as Tawwaj[4] belonging to the land of Ardashîr Khurrah.[5] (The meaning of Ardashîr Khurrah is "the splendor [*bahâ*] of Ardashîr.")

Tawwaj. According to the account of abu-Mikhnaf, 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi himself crossed the sea to Fârs and

[1] Or Fâris. Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 836 *et seq.*; Meyn., pp. 410 *et seq.*; LeStr., chap. xvii. Fârs is the name of the original Persian province of which Iṣtâkhr (Persepolis) was the capital. For Persia as a whole the Arabs used "al-'Ajam."

[2] 'Utbah was on a campaign against Mosul.

[3] A large island in the Persian Gulf. *Cf.* De Goeje, p. 386, note *d*; Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 79, iv, p. 342; Meyn., p. 96; LeStr., p. 261.

[4] Or Tawwaz. Meyn., pp. 142-3; LeStr., p. 259.

[5] Meyn., p. 23; LeStr., p. 249.

landed at Tawwaj, conquered it, built the mosques, made it a dwelling for the Moslems, and settled the 'Abd-al-Ḳais and other tribes there. And he used to make incursions from it against Arrajân,[1] which bordered upon it. Afterwards he went from Fârs to 'Umân and al-Baḥrain, having received instructions from 'Umar to do so, and left his brother, al-Ḥakam, in his place as governor.

Another authority than abu-Mikhnaf says that al-Ḥakam conquered Tawwaj and colonized it with Moslems of 'Abd-al-Ḳais and other tribes in the year 19.

Battle of Râshahr. They say that Shahrak,[2] the satrap [*marzubân*] and governor of Fârs, was impressed by such advances as the Arabs had made upon Fârs and worried; he heard of their slaughter and their victory over every one of their enemies that met them, and he collected a strong force and betook himself in person to Râshahr[3] of the land of Sâbûr in the neighborhood of Tawwaj. Al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi came out to meet him, with Sawwâr ibn-Hammâm[4] in command of his van, and a fierce battle ensued. 387

There was in this place a *wâdi*, to guard which Shahrak had appointed one of his chieftains with a company, ordering him to kill any fugitive from his followers who should attempt to pass it. One of the bravest of the knights approached, fleeing from the battle, and the captain was about to kill him; but the fugitive said to him, "Do not kill me! For we are fighting a victorious people with whom Allah is." He set up a stone and shot at it with an arrow and split it in two; then he said, "Dost thou see this arrow which split the stone? By Allah, it would not scratch one of them

[1] Persian *Arghân*. Meyn., pp. 18 *et seq.*

[2] Or Suhrak. *Cf.* Ḥanîfah, p. 141.

[3] Or Rîshahr. Meyn., pp. 270 *et seq.*; Bakri, vol. i, p. 352; LeStr., p. 261.

[4] Or Humâm, as in Meyn., *loc. cit.*

were it shot at him." The other replied, "There is no escape from thy being killed." But just then the news came to him of the death of Shahrak.

The one who killed him was Sawwâr ibn-Hammâm [1] al-'Abdi, who had charged upon him, with his spear, and unhorsed him, and then struck him with his sword until he was dead. The son of Shahrak then charged upon Sawwâr and killed him. But Allah defeated the polytheists, and Râshahr was conquered by force. The battle there in respect to its violence and the greatness of Allah's favor to the Moslems was comparable to the battle of al-Ḳâdisîyah.

'Amr ibn-al-Ahtam at-Tamîmi reported the victory to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb in these words:

> "I am come to the leader in haste to tell him
> Aright of the news of al-'Abdi Sawwâr—
> News of a wonderful and fortunate one, his soul employed
> In the path of Allah, araiding."

Some of the people of Tawwaj say:—Tawwaj was made a capital city [2] after the death of Shahrak. Allah knows best.

'Uthmân makes Tawwaj his headquarters. Later 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi to invade Fârs. The latter left as his lieutenant in charge of his governorship his brother, al-Mughîrah. (Others say it was Ḥafṣ ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi, who was a man of sound judgment.) 'Uthmân came to Tawwaj and made his camp there, making raids from that point and returning thereto.

Raids by abu-Mûsa. 'Umar wrote also to abu-Mûsa who was in al-Baṣrah, ordering him to aid and assist 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi. He made various attacks upon Fârs from al-Baṣrah, returning thereto after each raid.

Shabîr captured. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi sent Harim ibn- 388

[1] Or Humâm, as in Meyn., *loc. cit.*

[2] I. e. a garrison post; Ar. *maṣṣirat.* *Cf.* Hitti, p. 220, note 1.

Ḥayyân al-'Abdi against a fortress called Shabîr, which he conquered by force after siege and battle. (Some say it was the fortress of as-Satûj that Harim conquered by force.

Khurrah. 'Uthmân went to Khurrah [1] of Sâbûr and conquered it and its territory (after its inhabitants had engaged in battle with him) by capitulation upon condition of paying *jizyah* and *kharâj* and giving counsel to the Moslems.

Kâzarûn and Nûbandajân. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi conquered Kâzarûn [2] of Sâbûr and subdued its territory. He also conquered an-Nûbandajân [3] of Sâbûr and subdued it.

Arrajân and Shîrâz. Abu-Mûsa and 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi joined forces in the latter part of the caliphate of 'Umar, and the two of them conquered Arrajân [4] by capitulation on condition of [paying] *jizyah* and *kharâj.* They also conquered Shîrâz,[5] which is part of the land of Ardashîr Khurrah, on condition that they be *dhimmis,* paying the the *kharâj,* (except those of them who preferred to emigrate) without any being killed or enslaved.

Sînîz. They conquered Sînîz,[6] part of the land of Ardashîr Khurrah, its people being left to cultivate the land.

Jannâbâ. 'Uthmân conquered the castle of Jannâbâ [7] by surrender, granting *amân.*

Darâbjird. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi went to Darâbjird [8]

[1] *Sâbûr Khurrah* = Splendor of Shâpûr; *cf.* LeStr., p. 249. Perhaps De Goeje's reading is better; i.e. Jirrah; *cf.* LeStr., p. 268.

[2] Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 225; Meyn., p. 472; LeStr., p. 266.

[3] Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 817; Meyn., p. 568; LeStr., pp. 263 *et seq.*

[4] Ḥanîfah, pp. 140-141; Yâkût, vol. i, p. 193. See p. 128, note 1.

[5] Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 348, i, p. 199; Meyn., p. 366; LeStr., pp. 248 *et seq.*

[6] Yâkût,, vol iii, p. 221; Meyn., p. 337; LeStr., p. 273.

[7] A little city north of Sînîz about three miles from the sea. Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 123; Meyn., p. 166.

[8] Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 560; Meyn., p. 226; LeStr., pp. 288-289.

which was the center [1] of their science and religion and in command of which was al-Hirbadh. The latter made terms with 'Uthmân for a sum of money which he paid him and on condition that the inhabitants of Darâbjird should all of them have the same rights as the cities which were conquered from the people of Fârs.

Jahram. There assembled against him in the regions of Jahram [2] a force which he dispersed, and he subdued the land of Jahram.

Fasâ. 'Uthmân went to Fasâ,[3] whose magnate (*'aṭhîm*) made peace with him on terms similar to those of Darâbjird. Others say that al-Hirbadh obtained the terms for it also.

Sâbûr. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-Âṣi went against the city of Sâbûr [4] in the year 23. (Others say in the year 24, before abu-Mûsa received the news of his appointment as governor of al-Baṣrah for 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân.) He found its people in awe of the Moslems. The brother of Shahrak dreamt that an Arab entered to him and deprived him of his tunic; and this caused him great perturbation (lit. "took the heart out of him"). He held out a little while; then he asked terms of surrender, and 'Uthmân made terms with him, the conditions being that none of them should be killed or enslaved, but that they should be *dhimmis* and straightway pay a sum of money.

Sâbûr rebels. Afterwards the people of Sâbûr rebelled and broke the treaty, and were reconquered in the year 26 by abu-Mûsa with 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi in command of his van. 389

[1] *Shadrawân* (Persian) = foundation, fountain. The mss read *wakânat shadrawân 'ilmihim wadînihim.* Prof. W. D. Worrell suggests reading *wakânat athrawân 'ala dînihim* = "and fire-priests were in charge of their religion."

[2] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 167; Meyn., p. 182; LeStr., p. 254.

[3] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 891; Meyn., pp. 422-3; LeStr., p. 290.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 5; Meyn., p. 293.

Al-Jarûd killed. Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna and others say:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb ordered al-Jarûd al-'Abdi to be sent against the fortresses of Fârs in the year 22. When he was between Khurrah and Shirâz he separated himself from his followers on a hill there one morning for his necessity, with a water bottle [for ablution]. A band of Kurds surrounded and killed him,[1] and this hill was thereafter called 'Akabat-al-Jarûd.[2]

Iṣṭakhr and Jûr. When 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir ibn-Kuraiz governed al-Baṣrah for 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân after abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari, he attacked Iṣṭakhr[3] in the year 28, and Mâhak made terms with him for the people thereof. Then he set out towards Jûr,[4] and the people of Iṣṭakhr upon his departure from them broke the compact and killed the *'âmil* he had placed over them. Then when he had conquered Jûr, he came back against them and conquered them again.

Other versions. Harim ibn-Ḥayyân remained in command of Jûr, a city of Ardashîr Khurrah which the Moslems had captured; then withdrew from it to attack Iṣṭakhr and raid the regions which had rebelled against them. When ibn-'Âmir arrived there with his forces, they attacked him, and then entrenched themselves, but he conquered them with the sword by force. This was in the year 29. Ibn-'Âmir also conquered al-Kâriyân[5] and Fashjâtan[6] (i. e. al-Fîshajân) of Darâbjird which had had no part in the treaty of al-Hirbadh and the breaking of it.

[1] For Jarûd's death *cf.* Caetani, 19: 13, 20: 374 *et seq.*, 21: 309-313; Sa'd, vol. v. p. 409; Athîr, *Usd,* vol. i, pp. 260-261.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 692.

[3] Meyn., p. 48 *et seq.*; LeStr. p. 275.

[4] Now called Firûzâbâd. Meyn., p. 174 *et seq.*; LeStr., p. 256.

[5] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 224; Meyn., p. 471; LeStr., p. 255; Hamadhâni, p. 246.

[6] Or Fastajan. Iṣṭ., pp. 107, 132; Ḥauḳâl, pp. 148, 201; Athîr, vol. iii, p. 78.

Jûr subdued by ibn-'Âmir. Many people of learning relate:—Jûr was raided a number of years, but was not overcome until ibn-'Âmir conquered it. The cause of its conquest was as follows: One of the Moslems stood praying one night with a leather wallet of his by his side with bread and meat in it. A dog came up and snatched it and ran with it until he entered the city by a concealed entrance. The Moslems followed closely to this entrance and so entered through it and conquered the city.[1]

Ibn-'Âmir reduces Iṣṭakhr. When 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir had completed the conquest of Jûr, he returned to deal with the people of Iṣṭakhr, conquering them by force after fierce fighting, casting with siege engines (*manâjanîḳ*), and killing therewith 40,000 of the Persians, and wiping out most of the noble families together with the chiefs of the horsemen[2] 390 who had taken refuge there.

Some traditionists say:—Ibn-'Âmir returned to Iṣṭakhr as soon as he learned of their breaking faith, and conquered the city. Then he went to Jûr with Harim ibn-Ḥayyân commanding his vanguard, and took it.

Iṣṭakhr again rebels. Al-Ḥasan ibn-'Uthmân az-Ziyâdi:—The inhabitants of Iṣṭakhr rebelled during the governorship of 'Abdallâh ibn-'Abbâs over al-'Irâḳ for 'Ali, and 'Abdallâh reconquered it.

Abu-Mikhnaf's account. Al-'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from his father from abu-Mikhnaf:—Ibn-'Âmir set out against Iṣṭakhr, sending in command of his van 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ma'mar at-Taimi. The inhabitants of Iṣṭakhr met him in Râmjird.[3] 'Ubaidallâh attacked them and was killed by them, and was buried in a garden in Râmjird. The news came to ibn-'Âmir, who approached in haste until he fell

[1] Athîr, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Asâwirah.*

[3] Meyn., p. 253; LeStr., p. 280.

suddenly upon them with abu-Barzah Naḍlah ibn-'Abdallâh al-Aslami in command of his right wing, Ma'ḳil ibn-Yasâr al-Muzani over his left, 'Imrân ibn-al-Ḥuṣain al-Khuzâ'i over the horse, and over the foot Khâlid ibn-al-Mu'ammar adh-Dhuhli. He attacked them and put them to rout and forced them to withdraw into Iṣṭakhr. Allah conquered the city by force.

Ibn-'Âmir killed in the neighborhood of 100,000 of them, and then went to Darâbjird and subdued it, they having broken the treaty. Then he turned towards Kirmân.

Shuhriyâj surrenders to Moslem slave. 'Amr an-Nâḳid from Marwân ibn-Mu'âwiyah al-Fazâri from 'Âṣim al-Aḥwal from Fuḍail ibn-Zaid ar-Raḳḳâshi, who says:—We had besieged Shuhriyâj [1] a month or more and had thought we were going to take it in a day or so. And one day we attacked its inhabitants and returned to our camp, but a black slave remained behind—a deserter they thought him—wrote a guarantee of protection [*amân*] for them and shot it to them with an arrow. In the evening we began the attack again, but they came out from their castle and said, "This is your guarantee of protection." We wrote about this to 'Umar and he wrote to us, "A Moslem slave is a Moslem; therefore his protection has the full value of theirs. So let his guarantee be effective." And so we carried out its terms.

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Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from abu-n-Naḍr from Shu'bah from 'Âṣim from al-Fuḍail:—We were drawn up in battle array against the enemy in Sîrâf [2] . . . (Then he relates about the same.)

Sa'dawaih from 'Abbâd ibn-al-'Awwâm from 'Âṣim al-Aḥwal from al-Fuḍail ibn-Zaid ar-Raḳḳâshi:—The Moslems

[1] Or Suhriyâj. Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 204; Meyn., p. 330.

[2] LeStr., p. 258. Yâḳût (Meyn., p. 330) has Sîrân.

were besieging a castle, and a slave wrote a guarantee of protection and shot it to the enemy by means of a dart. The Moslems said, "His guarantee is worth nothing." But the people [of the castle] said, "We cannot tell the difference between slave and free." A letter was written about this to 'Umar, who replied, "The favor of a Moslem slave's protection is identical with that of a free man."

One of the inhabitants of Fârs told me that the castle of Sîrâf is called Sûryânj. The Arabs named it Shuhriyâj.

Fortress of Kharashah. In Fasâ is a fortress known as the fortress of Kharashah ibn-Mas'ûd of the banu-Tamîm (and of the banu-Shaḳirah), who was with ibn-al-Ash'ath. He fortified himself in this fortress, but [later] made a treaty. He died in Wâsit, but he had descendants in Fasâ.

CHAPTER II

KIRMÂN

Satrap of Kirmân killed. In the island of Abarkâwân 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thaḳafi met the *marzubân* [1] [of Kirmân] with a small troop and killed him. This caused the inhabitants of Kirmân [2] to weaken and lose heart.

Expedition under Mujâshi'. When ibn-'Âmir invaded Fârs, he sent Mujâshi' ibn-Mas'ûd as-Sulami to Kirmân in pursuit of Yazdajird. He came to Bîmandh,[3] but his army was wiped out there. Later when ibn-'Âmir went on his expedition to Khurâsân,[4] he appointed Mujâshi' governor of Kirmân. The latter took Bimandh by assault but spared the population and granted them an *amân*. In this place is a castle known as Ḳaṣr Mujâshi'.

Ash-Shîrajân. Mujâshi' also captured Barûkhrawah and came to ash-Shîrajân,[5] the city of Kirmân, and besieged it a few days. Its inhabitants set to fortifying themselves, while their cavalry made sorties against the Moslems, but Mujâshi' attacked them and took the city by assault. He left a man there, but most of the inhabitants emigrated.

Bamm and Andaghâr. Abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari had sent ar-

[1] Satrap.

[2] Meyn., 482 *et seq.*; LeStr., chaps. xxi and xxii.

[3] Bîmandh or Bimîdh. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 718; Meyn., p. 557; LeStr., p. 311.

[4] See *infra*, p. 159, note 2.

[5] Or as-Sîrjân. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 106, 265; Meyn., p. 333; LeStr., p. 300.

Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd who subdued the territory around ash-Shîrajân and made a treaty with the inhabitants of Bamm[1] and the Andaghâr.[2] But the people of these regions broke faith and rebelled, and Mujâshi' ibn-Mas'ûd subdued them again. He captured Jîraft[3] by storm. He went through Kirmân and subdued it as far as al-Ḳufṣ.[4] There assembled against him in Hurmûz[5] a number of Persian fugitives. He attacked, routed and defeated them. 392

Many emigrate. Many from among the inhabitants of Kirmân fled and crossed the sea. Some went to Makrân, and some as far as Sijistân. The Arabs took possession of their dwellings and their lands, cultivating the latter, and paying the tithe thereon, and digging water channels in some places.

Ḳaṭan governor for al-Ḥajjâj. Al-Ḥajjâj appointed Ḳaṭan[6] ibn-Ḳabîṣah ibn-Mukhâriḳ al-Hilâli governor of Fârs and Kirmân. He is the one who came to a water course (*nahr*) which his followers thought impassable. He said, "A thousand dirhams to whoever crosses it." They crossed it and he paid up. This was the origin of the use of the word *jâ'izah* (passage) in the sense of "gift".[7] In regard to this the poet al-Jaḥḥâf ibn-Ḥukaim says:

"As a ransom for the noble sons of Hilâl
In all their circumstances, my people and all I have [I offer].
They originated the passage-gifts,
Which became a custom of later days.
[May] their spears prevail against a score,
Whenever they meet the enemy."

[1] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 737; Meyn., p. 115; LeStr., p. 312.

[2] Caetani, 17:111, note 1.

[3] Or Jîruft. Meyn., p. 185; LeStr., p. 299.

[4] Jabal al-Ḳufṣ, Meyn., p. 452 *et seq.*; LeStr., p. 317.

[5] Meyn., p. 595; LeStr., p. 318.

[6] Lane (see next note) names Ḳaṭan ibn-'Auf in connection with the definition of *jâ'izah*.

[7] See Lane, p. 485, col. a.

(Ḳabîṣah[1] ibn-Mukhâriḳ was one of the Companions of the Prophet.)

Concerning Ḳaṭan the poet says:

> "How many a prince from whom I received gifts;
> But the outcome of them all was sorrow.
> Is not Ḳaṭan just like his predecessors?
> So grant me patience for what Ḳaṭan shall bring."

Ibn-Ziyâd appointed Sharîk ibn-al-A'war al-Ḥârithi (i. e. Sharîk ibn-al-Ḥârith) to govern Kirmân and wrote to him on behalf of Yazîd ibn-Ziyâd ibn-Rabî' ibn-Mufarragh al-Ḥimyari, and he assigned him land in Kirmân which was afterwards bought by Harb ibn-Ziyâd of al-Baṣrah.

Mosque and Residence of Arrajân. Al-Ḥajjâj appointed al-Ḥakam ibn-Nahik al-Hujaimi governor of Kirmân after making him governor of Fârs. Al-Ḥakam built the mosque of Arrajân and the official residence.

[1] The father of Ḳaṭan.

PART XVIII
SIJISTÂN AND KÂBUL

CHAPTER I

'UTHMÂN TO MARWÂN I

Ibn-'Âmir's expedition to Khurâsân. 'Ali ibn-Muḥammad and others:—'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir ibn-Kuraiz ibn-Rabî'ah ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-Abd-Shams set out for Khurâsân in the year 30. He encamped with his army at Shaḳḳ ash-Shîrajân of Kirmân and sent ar-Rabî ibn-Ziyâd ibn-Anas ibn-ad-Dayyân al-Ḥârithi on to Sijistân.[1] The latter traveled until he found a camping place at al-Fahraj.[2] Then he cut across the desert (a distance of 75 parasangs) and came to the district of Zâlik.[3] From Zâlik to Sijistân is five parasangs. Zâlik is a fortress. He made an attack upon its people on the day of Mihrijân,[4] and captured its *dihḳân*, but spared his life in return for his sticking up a javelin and covering it with gold and silver. And he gave the *dihḳân* a treaty, agreeing not to shed his blood. 393

Abu-'Ubaidah Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that the terms of the treaty with him were that his city should be like one of the captured cities of Fârs and Kirmân.

The advance to Zaranj. Then ar-Rabî' went to a village called Karkûyah[5] at a distance of five miles from Zâlik. They made peace with him without offering any resistance.

[1] Now called Sîstân. Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 41 *et seq.*; Meyn., pp. 300 *et seq.*; Le Str., pp. 334-351.

[2] Yâḳût, (al-Fihrij) vol. iii, p. 925; Meyn., p. 427; LeStr., p. 328.

[3] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 909; Meyn., p. 281; LeStr., p. 344.

[4] The autumnal equinox. Mas'ûdi, vol. ii, p. 114, vol. viii, p. 340.

[5] "In it was a fire temple highly venerated by the Magians." Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 263; Meyn., p. 482; LeStr., p. 341.

Next he pitched camp in a district called Haysûn,[1] whose inhabitants allowed him to camp there, making peace with him on condition that there should be no fighting. Then he went to Zâlik, from which he obtained guides to Zaranj,[2] proceeding until he reached the Hindmand.[3] Crossing one of its affluents, a *wâdi* called Nûk,[4] he arrived at Zûsht, distant two thirds of a mile from Zaranj. The inhabitants made a sortie against him and opposed him fiercely, a number of the Moslems being wounded. Then the Moslems rallied and put them to rout, finally driving them into the city after killing a great many.

Nâshrûdh. Then ar-Rabî' went to the town of Nâshrûdh.[5] He attacked its people and was victorious over them. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân took captive here abu-Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân (who wrote to al-Ḥajjâj in place of Zadânifarrûkh ibn-Nîra and who had charge of the *kharâj* of al-'Irâḳ for Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik) and his mother. He was bought by a woman named 'Ablah of the banu-Tamîm (i. e. of the banu-Murrah ibn-'Ubaid ibn-Muḳâ'is ibn-'Amr ibn-Ka'b ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zaid Manâh ibn-Tamîm).

Sharwâdh. Ar-Rabî' then advanced from Nâshrûdh to the town of Sharwâdh,[6] which he reduced, capturing in it the grandfather of Ibrâhîm ibn-Bassâm, who became the slave of ibn-'Umair al-Laithi.

Zaranj taken. He next besieged the city of Zaranj after being attacked by its inhabitants. Abarwîz, its satrap, sent to him, asking for safe-conduct in order to treat with him 394

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 43, line 10.

[2] Or Zarang. LeStr., pp. 335-340.

[3] Modern Hilmund, the largest river of Sijistân. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 992; Meyn., p. 608; LeStr., p. 339.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 825; Meyn., p. 573.

[5] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 728; Meyn., p. 559.

[6] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 282; Meyn., p. 559.

for peace. The Moslem commander ordered one of the bodies of the slain to be brought to him. He took his seat upon it and leaned back against another, and had his followers sit upon corpses of the slain. Ar-Rabî' was dark, wide-mouthed, and tall, and when the satrap saw him he was in awe of him and made peace with him for 1,000 slaves, each slave with a cup of gold. And so Ar-Rabî' entered the city.

Sanârûdh. Then he advanced to the *wâdi* Sanârûdh.[1] Crossing it, he went to al-Ḳaryatân, where there was a stable of the horse of Rustam. He met with opposition but was victorious. He advanced then to Zaranj and remained there two years.

Then ibn-'Âmir came and appointed as his lieutenant in that city a member of the banu-l-Ḥârith ibn-Ka'b, but the inhabitants expelled him and closed up the city to the Moslems.

Ar-Rabî' took many captives. The term of the administration of ar-Rabî' was two years and a half, and in his time he made 40,000 captives. His scribe was al-Ḥasan of al-Baṣrah.

Ibn-Samurah governs Sijistân. Ibn-'Âmir next appointed as governor of Sijistân 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Samurah ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-'Abd-Shams. He went to Zaranj and surrounded its satrap in his castle on one of their festal days. The latter made peace with him for 2,000,000 dirhams and 2,000 slaves. As for ibn-Samurah, he established his rule over everything between Zaranj and Kishsh[2] of the land of al-Hind, and over that part of the region of the road of ar-Rukhkhaj[3] which is between it and the province of ad-Dâwar.[4]

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 154; Meyn., p. 321; LeStr., p. 335.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 277; Meyn., p. 488.

[3] Persian *Rokkez.* Yâḳût, vol ii, p. 770; Meyn., p. 258; LeStr., pp. 339, 345.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 541; Meyn., p. 224; LeStr., p. 345.

The golden idol of az-Zûr. When he got as far as the provinces of ad-Dâwar, he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of az-Zûr.[1] They soon surrendered to him. The number of Moslems with him was 8,000 and each man of them received 4,000 dirhams. Ibn-Samurah went into the temple of the Zûr, an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes, and cut off a hand and took out the rubies. Then he said to the satrap, "Keep the gold and the gems. I only wanted to show you that it had no power to harm or help."

Bust and Zâbul. He obtained control of Bust[2] and Zâbul[3] by covenant (*'ahd*).

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Waki' from Ḥammâd ibn-Zaid from Yaḥya ibn-'Atîḳ from Muḥammad ibn-Sîrîn:—He did not want to take prisoners from Zâbul, saying that 'Uthmân had made a compact (*walth*) with them.

Wakî' says:—He made an agreement (*'aḳd*) with them, which is inferior to a covenant (*'ahd*).

Umair succeeds ibn-Samurah. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân went to Zaranj and remained there until the affairs of 'Uthmân became disturbed. Then he appointed Umair ibn-Aḥmar al- 395 Yashkuri to take his place and withdrew from Sijistân himself. Of Umair says Ziyâd al-A'jam:

> "Except for Umair, Yashkur had perished.
> But Yashkur perished anyhow."

Subsequently the people of Zaranj expelled Umair and closed the town.

The "Beggar Army." When 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib had made an end of the affair of the Camel, Ḥasakah ibn-'Attâb al-Ḥabaṭi and 'Imrân ibn-al-Faṣîl al-Burjumi made an expedition with a band of Arab beggars to Zâliḳ, whose people had rebelled. From it they obtained money as well as

[1] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 906; Meyn., pp. 289, 224; LeStr., p. 345.

[2] Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 612 *et seq.*; Meyn., pp. 100 *et seq.*; LeStr., p. 344.

[3] I. e. Zâbulistân. Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 904; Meyn., p. 280; Lestr., p. 349.

slaves, among whom was the grandfather of al-Bukhtari, al-Aṣamm ibn-Mujâhid, *maula* of Shaibân. Next they went to Zaranj, whose satrap out of fear of them made terms of peace and let them enter the city. The poet says:

"Announce to Sijistân the news of famine and war,
Of ibn-al-Faṣil and his band of Arab beggars,
Voracious of silver and gold."

Ibn-Jaz' killed by them. 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib dispatched 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Jaz' aṭ-Ṭâ'i to Sijistân, but Ḥasakah killed him. And 'Ali said, "Verily, I will kill 4,000 of the Ḥabaṭât." Some one said to him, "But the Ḥabaṭât do not number five hundred."

'Aun ibn-Ja'dah killed. Abu-Mikhnaf says:—'Ali dispatched 'Aun ibn-Ja'dah ibn-Hubaira al-Makhzûmi to Sijistân, but Bahdâla aṭ-Ṭâ'i, the thief, killed him on the 'Irâḳ road.

Rib'i appointed. 'Ali wrote to 'Abdallâh ibn-al-'Abbâs, ordering him to appoint some one as governor of Sijistân with a force of 4,000. He accordingly sent Rib'i ibn-al-Kâs al-'Anbari with 4,000. He was accompanied on the expedition by al-Ḥuṣain ibn-abu-l-Ḥurr (the name of abu-l-Ḥurr being Mâlik ibn-al-Khashkhâsh al-'Anbari), and by Thât ibn-dhul-Ḥarrah al-Ḥimyari, who was in command of the vanguard. When they arrived at Sijistân, they were attacked by Ḥasakah, but killed him, and Rib'i established order in the country.

One of their poet says: 396

"We who rushed rashly into Sijistân
Against ibn-'Aṭṭâb and the army of Shaitân,
Our leader the glorious 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân,
Lo! we found in the bright guidance of the Ḳurân
That we should not unite with the faction of ibn-'Affân."

(Thât's name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân, and Fairûz Ḥuṣain was named after Ḥuṣain ibn-abu-l-Ḥurr. This Fairûz was one of the captives of Sijistân.)

Ibn-'Âmir appoints ibn-Samurah. Mu-âwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân, when he became ruler, made ibn-'Âmir his *'âmil* over al-Baṣrah, and the latter appointed as governor of Sijistân 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Samurah. He went there accompained by 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain al-Ḥabaṭi in command of the guard, and by the following nobles (*ashrâf*): 'Umar ibn-'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ma'mar at-Taimi, 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami, Ḳaṭari ibn-al-Fujâ'ah, and al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Sufrah.

Advances to Kâbul. He raided the country, whose people had apostatized, and subdued it either by force, or by making treaties with its people, advancing as far as Kâbul.[1] When he got there, he pitched his camp and besieged the inhabitants some months, attacking them continually, and pelting at them with his *manjaniks* until a great breach was made. 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain made an attack upon it by night, fighting the polytheists with spears until dawn came, but without being able to overcome the defense. Ibn-Khâzim took part with him in this fight to take the city.

The elephant. When the darkness dawned, they made a sortie, attacking the Moslems, and ibn-Khâzim wounded an elephant that was with them, and it fell at the gate from which they had issued, so that they could not close the gate, and the Moslems entered the city by force.

Abu-Mikhnaf says that the one who slew the elephant was al-Muhallab.

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri used to say, "I did not think that one man could withstand a thousand until I saw 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain."

Further conquests. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Samurah sent 'Umar ibn-'Abaidallâh ibn-Ma'mar and al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Sufrah with news of the victory. Then he went out

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iv, pp. 220-221; Meyn., p. 469; LeStr., p. 349.

across the *wâdi* Nasl, coming next to Khuwâsh[1] and Kûzân Bust, which he conquered by force, proceeding to Razân,[2] whose inhabitants fled. And he subdued the region.

Next he went to Khushshak whose people capitulated. After this he came to ar-Rukhkaj. He met with opposition, but overcame it and conquered the city. Then he advanced to Ḍhâbulistân.[3] The inhabitants, who had broken the treaty, attacked him, but he defeated them, obtaining captives. He went on to Kâbul, whose people had broken the treaty, and conquered them. 397

Ibn-Samurah governor. Mu'âwiyah subsequently appointed 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Samurah to govern Sijistân for him, dispatching to him his commission. He continued in charge of the land until Ziyâd came to al-Baṣrah.

Death of ibn-Samurah. Ziyâd left him in office some months. Then he appointed to it ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd. Ibn-Samurah died in al-Baṣrah in the year 50, and Ziyâd conducted his funeral. He was the man to whom the Prophet said, "Do not ask for authority, for if you get it without asking, you can give it up when you get tired of it; but if you are given it for asking, you are under obligations to keep it. If you make a vow, and the event is good, you have to make good your vow."

'Abd-ar-Raḥmân took with him to al-Baṣrah slaves captured at Kâbul, and they built him a mosque in his castle there after the Kâbul style of building.

Kâbul and Dhâbulistân revolt. Then Kâbul-Shah assembled a force to oppose the Moslems and drove out all of them that were in Kâbul. And Ratbîl came and gained control of Dhâbulistân and ar-Rukhkhaj as far as Bust. Ar-

[1] Or Khwâsh. Meyn., p. 213; LeStr., pp. 342, 343.

[2] Meyn., p. 252.

[3] Or Zâbulistân. See note on Zâbul *supra*, page 144.

Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd led out his men and attacked Ratbîl at Bust, put him to flight, and pursued him until he reached ar-Rukhkhaj. After attacking him in ar-Rukhkhaj, he continued to advance, and subdued the city of ad-Dâwar.

'Ubaidallâh supersedes ar-Rabî'. Then Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân removed ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd al-Hârithi and appointed 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah over Sijistân. He continued the campaign, and when he reached Razân, Ratbîl sent to him asking for peace for his own country and the land of Kâbul in return for 1,200,000 dirhams. When he consented to this, Ratbîl asked him if he would remit 200,000. He agreed, and the peace was established on the payment of 1,000,000 dirhams. 'Ubaidallâh went personally to Ziyâd to tell him of this, and Ziyâd confirmed the treaty. Then 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah returned to Sijistân and remained there until Ziyâd died.

Later governors. After the death of Ziyâd, 'Abbâd ibn-Ziyâd ruled Sijistân for Mu'âwiyah. Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah, when he became ruler, appointed Salm ibn-Ziyâd governor of Khurâsân and Sijistân. Salm appointed his brother, Yazîd ibn-Ziyâd, over Sijistân.

Kâbul again revolts. At the time of Yazîd's death, or a little before, the people of Kâbul treacherously broke the compact, and imprisoned abu-'Ubaidah ibn-Ziyâd. Yazîd ibn-Ziyâd proceeded against them and attacked them in Junzah, but he and many of those with him were killed. and the rest put to flight. Among those who were martyred were Zaid ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Mulaikah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Jad'ân al-Furashi and Ṣilah ibn-Ashtam abu-ṣ-Ṣahbâ, al-'Adawi, the husband of Mu-âdhah al-'Adawîyah. 398

Ṭalḥah becomes governor. Salm ibn-Ziyâd sent Ṭâlḥah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khalaf al-Khuzâ'i (known as Ṭâlḥah aṭ-Ṭalḥât), who ransomed abu-'Ubaidah for 500,000 dirhams.

Ṭalḥah went from Kâbul to Sijistân as *wâli* over it for

Salm ibn-Ziyâd. He collected the taxes and paid his visitors, and died in Sijistân. He left as his successor a man of the banu-Yashkur, but the Muḍari expelled him, and factions arose, and each people seized control of their own city. Ratbîl aided and abetted them.

Death of Ratbîl. When 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Amir arrived as *wâli* over Sijistân for al-Ḳubâ' (i. e. al-Ḥârith ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Rabî'ah al-Makhzûmi) in the time of az-Zubair, he was compelled to stop in the city of Zaranj, because Ratbîl was at war with him. But abu-'Afrâ' 'Umair al-Mâzini killed Ratbîl and the polytheists were put to rout.

Ibn-Nâshirah killed. Abdallâh ibn-Nâshirah at-Tamîmi sent orders to 'Abd-al-'Azîz to take all that was in the treasury and depart, and he did so. Ibn-Nâshirah advanced until he entered Zaranj, while Wakî' ibn-abu-Sûd at-Tamîmi proceeded further. But 'Abd-al-'Azîz sent back and drove him into the city at the time it was opened for the woodcutters. Ibn-Nâshirah made a sortie, and 'Abd-al-'Azîz collected a force and attacked him, assisted by Waḳî'. Ibn-Nâshirah's horse stumbled under him and he was killed.

Abu-Ḥuzâbah (others say Ḥanṭhalah ibn-'Arâdah) says:

"There never was so bold a youth as ibn-Nâshirah,
And now he is gone and nought is left.
Was he a plant planted but for death to reap?
Why was not this green plant left?
The young Ḥanṭhalah kept distributing
Good things and refraining from evil.
I swear that Kuraish have destroyed our prince,
Fresh with the fragrant beauty of the evening."

CHAPTER II

'ABD-AL-MALIK TO MA'MUN

'Abdallâh ibn-'Umaiyah governor. 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân appointed over Khurâsân 'Umaiyah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asîd ibn-abu-l-'Îs. The latter sent his son, 'Abdallâh, to rule over Sijistân, entrusting him with the government of that province. He was in Kirmân at the time, and when he arrived in Sijistân, he made war upon Ratbîl (the successor as king to the former Ratbîl, who had been killed). He stood in awe of the Moslems, and when 'Abdallâh arrived at Bust and offered to make peace with him for 1,000,000 [dirhams], he agreed, and sent him in addition gifts and slaves; but these 'Abdallâh refused to accept, saying, "If he fill me this tent with gold, well; but it not, then no treaty between me and him." And he kept on fighting. 399

Ratbîl wins easier terms. Ratbîl did not oppose his advance into the land until he had penetrated deep into it, when he seized the mountain paths and passes against him, asking the Moslems to cease hostilities and offering to refrain from despoiling them. This was refused, and Ratbîl said, "Well then, take 300,000 dirhams for a treaty, and put it in writing for me, agreeing not to raid our land while you are *wâli,* nor to burn nor lay waste." 'Abdallâh did this, and when 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân learned of it, he dismissed him.

'Ubaidallâh offers terms to Ratbîl. Later, when al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf was governor of al-'Irâḳ, he sent 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah to Sijistân. He lost his way and took sick,

and arrived at ar-Rukhkhaj while the country was suffering from drought. He went on and encamped in the neighborhood of Kâbul, stopping at a mountain path. The enemy blocked this against him until Ratbîl joined them. 'Ubaidallâh made peace with them on condition that they pay him 500,000 dirhams, sending him three of their ruler's sons as pledges, Nahâr, al-Ḥajjâj, and abu-Bakrah, and he wrote them an agreement not to raid them while he was governor.

Shuraiḥ persuades him to fight. But Shuraiḥ ibn-Hâni al-Ḥârithi said to him, "Fear Allah and fight this people, for if thou doest what thou art about to do, thou wilt weaken Islâm on this frontier, and wilt be attempting to flee from the death to which thou art destined." A battle ensued and Shuraiḥ made a charge, but was killed. The army fought their way out, although hard pressed, and made their way along the desert of Bust. Many of the men perished of thirst and hunger, and 'Ubaidallâh died of grief for what he had brought upon his men and the fate that had overtaken them. (Others say that he had a disease of the ear of which he died.) His son, abu-Burda'ah, succeeded to the command of the army.

Ratbîl and 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân. Subsequently 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash'ath was deposed from office and went out to Sijistân as a rebel against 'Abd-al Malik ibn-Marwân and al-Ḥajjâj. He concluded a truce with Ratbîl and went to visit him. Later Ratbîl betrayed him from fear of al-Ḥajjâj, because the latter had written a threatening letter. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân threw himself from the top of a cliff (others say from the top of a flat roof), dragging down with him the man who was guarding him and to whom he was bound, and so was killed. His head was taken to al-Ḥajjâj. 400

Al-Ḥajjâj and Ratbîl. Al-Ḥajjâj made peace with Ratbîl, agreeing not to make war upon him for seven years,

(others say nine years) on condition that he pay thereafter every year 900,000 dirhams in kind. When the years were completed, al-Ḥajjâj appointed al-Ashhab ibn-Bashar al-Kalbi governor of Sijistân. He dealt harshly with Ratbîl in regard to the goods which he paid. Ratbîl wrote to al-Ḥajjâj, complaining to him about al-Ashhab, and al-Ḥajjâj dismissed the latter from office.

Ḳutaibah and Ratbîl. Afterwards, when Ḳutaibah ibn-Muslim al-Bâhili governed Khurâsân and Sijistân in the reign of al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, he appointed his brother, 'Amr ibn-Muslim, governor of Sijistân. 'Amr demanded the tribute from Ratbîl in coined money. The latter declared that he was not able to do other than what al-Ḥajjâj had provided for, *i. e.* payment in kind. 'Amr informed Ḳutaibah of this, and Ḳutaibah went to Sijistân. When the news of his arrival reached Ratbîl, he sent to him saying, " We are not lacking a bit in obedience, but we agreed upon payment in kind. Do not deal harshly with us." Ḳutaibah said to the army, "Collect from him in kind, for the frontier is not prosperous." And with this they were content.

Vipers in Zaranj. Later Ḳutaibah withdrew from Khurâsân, although he had sowed seed in the land of Zaranj to make the enemy despair of his going and lead them to submit to him. But when he began to reap this crop, the vipers made it impossible, and he ordered it to be burned. Ḳutaibah left as his lieutenant over Sijistân ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Umair al-Laithi, brother of 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir on his mother's side.

Ratbîl gives more trouble. When Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became ruler, he appointed Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab governor of al-'Irâḳ. Yazîd appointed his brother, Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab, governor of Sijistân. Ratbîl would not pay him any tribute at all. Then Mu'âwiyah ibn-Yazîd was appointed. To him a paltry gift was given. Then

Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became ruler, and Ratbîl would not pay his *'âmils* anything, but said, "What has become of the people who used to come to us, empty-bellied, faces darkened by the sun, their sandals of palm leaves?" The reply was, "They have passed away." Said he, "They kept 401 their word better than you, and were braver; though you are better-looking." Some one said to him, "What has come over thee? Thou didst pay tribute to al-Ḥajjâj and dost not pay it to us." And Ratbîl said, "Al-Ḥajjâj was a man who did not consider what he spent so long as he got what he wanted, even though not a dirham was returned to him. But you do not spend a dirham without wanting ten to be returned to you in place of it." And thereafter he did not pay any tribute to any of the *'âmils* of the Umaiyads or of abu-Muslim over Sijistân.

Ma'n takes the field against him. Al-Mansûr, the Commander of the Believers, when he became caliph, appointed Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah ash-Shaibâni governor of Sijistân. He went thither and assigned his *'âmils* over the land, writing to Ratbîl orders to bring the tribute for which al-Ḥajjâj had stipulated. He sent camels, Turkish tents, and slaves, reckoning each at double its value. Ma'n became angry, and betook himself to ar-Rukhkhaj with Yazîd ibn-Mazyan in command of his vanguard, but he found that Ratbîl had withdrawn from that place and had gone to Dhâbulistân to spend the summer there. Ma'n reduced ar-Rukhkhaj, securing many captives, among them being Faraj ar-Rukhkhaji, at that time a lad, and his father Ziyâd. Faraj used to relate that Ma'n saw a cloud of dust raised by the hoofs of wild asses, and thought that it was an army which had started after him to engage him in battle and rescue the captives from his hand, and so he laid his sword among them and slew a great number of them. Presently the cause of the dust became manifest when the asses came in sight,

and he desisted. Says Faraj, "I saw my father, when Ma'n ordered us to be put to the sword, bending over me and saying, 'Kill me, but do not kill my son'".

The number of those whom Ma'n captured and made prisoners was about 30,000.

Mâwand given safe-conduct. Mâwand, the lieutenant of Ratbîl, asked for safe-conduct (*amân*) in order to be taken to the Commander of the Believers. Ma'n granted it, sending him to Baghdâdh with 5,000 of their soldiers, and al-Mansûr treated him generously, pensioning him and his chieftains.

Ma'n murdered. Ma'n, being fearful of the winter and its storms, withdrew to Bust. Some of the heretics (*khawârij*) who disapproved of his mode of life, plotted with certain workmen who were doing some building in his dwelling, and when they were putting on the roofing, they concealed their swords by putting them in the bundles of reeds. Then they surprised him in his tent while he was having himself cupped, and treacherously murdered him, one of them splitting his belly with a dagger he had. One of the assassins said, "Abu-l-Ghulâm aṭ-Ṭâḳi struck him upon the head." (Aṭ-Ṭâḳ is a district in the neighborhood of Zaranj.) Yazîd ibn-Mazyad executed them all and not one of them escaped. 402

Yazîd governor of Sijistân. Then Yazîd succeeded to the command of Sijistân. His violence became too oppressive for either the Arabs or the Persians among its population, and certain of the Arabs forged in his name a letter to al-Mansûr in which it was stated that al-Mahdi had written something to him which perplexed and astounded him, and asking that he be allowed to resign from his post. This angered al-Mansûr, who cursed him and let al-Mahdi read the letter. Yazîd was dismissed by the caliph, who ordered him to be imprisoned and all of his property sold.

Later there was some talk about him and he was summoned to Madînat-as-Salâm and was kept concealed there until the heretics met him on the bridge and were attacked by him. This aroused some interest in his case. Later he was sent to Yûsuf al-Barm in Khurâsân and continued in honor there.

Sijistân never completely subjugated. The *'âmils* of al-Mahdi and ar-Rashîd continued to collect tribute from Ratbîl of Sijistân was well as they could, and kept appointing their agents to rule over the regions to which Islâm had reached. When al-Ma'mûn was in Khurâsân, double tribute was paid to him. He subdued Kâbul, whose king professed Islâm and promised obedience, and brought his *'âmils* into that land. Al-Barîd went as far as there and sent to the caliph some fresh myrobalan [1] fruit from there. He stayed there for a little while after this.

Weasels in Sijistân. Al-'Umari from al-Haitham from 'Adi—It was in the ancient treaties of Sijistân that the weasel should not be killed among them, because of the great number of vipers among them. The first to invite the people of Sijistân to the party of the heretics (*khawârij*) was a man of the banu-Tamîm called 'Âṣim or ibn-'Âṣim.

[1] *Cf.* LeStrange 349 n. 1. Reinaud, *Mémoires*, p. 198.

PART XIX

KHURÂSAN

CHAPTER I

CALIPHATES OF 'UMAR AND 'UTHMÂN

403 *Aṭ-Ṭabasân.* Abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari sent 'Abdallâh ibn-Budail ibn-Warḳâ' al-Khuzâ'i on a raid. He went to Kirmân, then advanced beyond until he reached aṭ-Ṭabasân,[1] two forts, one of them called Ṭabas and the other Kurain. It is a hot country, abounding in palms. The two forts are the gate of Khurâsân.[2] 'Abdallâh obtained there much booty.

Some of the inhabitants of aṭ-Ṭabasân went to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb and made peace with him for 60,000. (Others say 75,000.) He gave them a written convenant.

Other authorities insist that 'Abdallâh ibn-Budail set out from Iṣbahân of his own accord.

Ibn-'Âmir's Campaign. When 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân became caliph, he appointed 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir ibn-Kuraiz governor of al-Baṣrah in the year 28. (Others say in the year 29.) He was 25 years old. He made some conquests in the land of Fârs; then he raided Khurâsân in the year 30, leaving as his lieutenant over al-Baṣrah Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân, and putting in command of his vanguard al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais. (Other authorities say 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim ibn-Asmâ ibn-aṣ-Salt ibn-Ḥabîb as-Sulami.)

Ḳûhistân. He admitted the validity of the treaty of aṭ-Ṭabasân, and sent al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais on to Ḳûhistân.[3] For

[1] Meyn., p. 388; LeStr., pp. 359-360.

[2] Meyn., p. 197; LeStr., chaps. xxvii-xxx.

[3] "The Mountain Country." Meyn., p. 466; LeStr., pp. 352-363.

he was directed to it when he asked for the nearest city on the road to aṭ-Ṭabasân. He was opposed there by the Hayâṭilah,[1] a tribe of Turks. (Others deny that they were Turks, saying that they were a tribe of Persians, who, because they practiced sodomy, were banished by Fairûz to Harât, where they became associated with the Turks.) They were assisting the people of Ḳûhistân, but ibn-Ḳais put them to flight and captured Ḳûhistân by force.

Other authorities assert that he drove them to their fort; then ibn-'Âmir joined him, and the people sued for peace, which he granted them for 600,000 dirhams.

Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that the one who was sent to Ḳûhistân was 'Umair ibn-Aḥmad al-Yashkuri. It has remained until today the country of Bakr ibn-Wâ'il.

Zâm, Bâkharz and Juwain. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir despatched Yazîd al-Jurashi, the father of Sâlim ibn-Yazîd, to the district (*rustâḳ*) of Zâm[2] of Nîsâbûr. He took it by force, and conquered Bâkharz,[3] a district of Nîsâbûr, capturing also Juwain[4] and taking a number of prisoners. 404

Death of al-Aswad. Ibn-'Âmir sent al-Aswad ibn-Kulthûm al-'Adawi ('Adi ar-Ribâb), a pious man, to Baihâḳ,[5] a district of Nîsâbûr. He entered one of the gardens[6] belonging to its population by means of a breach in its wall, and a part of the Moslems entered with him. But the enemy seized the breach against them, and al-Aswad fought until he and those with him were killed. He was succeeded

[1] "The white Huns." *Cf.* Noeldeke, *die Perser*, p. 115, note 2; Caetani, 30:11, n. 1; Mas'ûdi vol. ii, p. 195; Meyn., p. 200.

[2] Or Jâm. Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 909; Meyn., p. 282; LeStr., pp. 356-7.

[3] Meyn., p. 74; LeStr., p. 357.

[4] There were several towns or districts of this name. Here is meant Juwain of Nîsâbûr. Meyn., p. 180; LeStr., pp. 391-2.

[5] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 804; Meyn., p. 130; LeStr., p. 391.

[6] Ar. *ḥîṭân*, a walled garden.

in command of the force by Adham ibn-Kulthûm, who accomplished the capture of Baihaḳ. Al-Aswad had prayed his Lord to gather him at the resurrection from the bellies of the beasts and birds, and so his brother did not bury him, although his martyred companions were buried.

Nîsâbur subdued. Ibn-'Âmir took Busht[1] of Nîsâbûr, Ashband,[2] Rukhkh,[3] Zâwah,[4] Khuwâf,[5] Asbarâ'in,[6] and Arghiyân[7] of Nisâbûr. Then he went to Abrashahr,[8] the capital of Nîsâbûr, and besieged its population several months. Now a man was appointed to rule over each of the quarters of the city, and one of these quartermasters asked for safety [*amân*] in return for letting the Moslems enter the city. It was granted him, and he let them in by night. They opened the gate, but the city's *marzubân* together with a number of the people fortified himself in the Kuhundiz.[9] He asked for safety [*amân*], offering to make a pact for all Nîsâbûr with the payment of tribute. This was done, the amount of tribute being 1,000,000 dirhams. (Others say 700,000.) When ibn-'Âmir had conquered Nîsâbûr, he appointed Ḳais ibn-al-Haitham as-Sulami governor over it.

[1] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 168; Meyn., p. 106; LeStr., p. 354.

[2] Or Ashfand. Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 280; Meyn., p. 38; LeStr., p. 388.

[3] Or Rikh. Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 770; Meyn., p. 258; LeStr., p. 356.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 910; Meyn., p. 282; LeStr., p. 356.

[5] Spelled also Khawâf and Khwâf. Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 486; Meyn., p. 213; LeStr., pp. 357-8.

[6] Or Isfarâ'in. Yâḳût,, vol. i, p. 246; Meyn., p. 34; LeStr., p. 393. It borders on Jurjân.

[7] Districts s. w. of Asbarâ'in. Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 209; Meyn., p. 25; LeStr., p. 392.

[8] Meyn., p. 7; LeStr., p. 383.

[9] "Old Cliff," i. e. the citadel. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 210; Meyn., pp. 467-8; LeStr., p. 349.

Nasâ. Ibn-'Âmir sent 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami against Ḥumrândiz [1] in Nasâ,[2] a rural district. 'Abdallâh captured it, and the lord of Nasâ came to him and made a treaty with him for 300,000 dirhams, (Others say on condition that the land bear the *kharâj*.) stipulating that none be put to death nor enslaved.

Abîward. Bahmanah, the mayor of Abîward,[3] went to ibn-'Âmir, and he made a treaty with him for 400,000. (Other authorities say that ibn-'Âmir sent 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim to this city, and he made a treaty with its inhabitants for 400,000 dirhams.) 405

Sarakhs. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir sent 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim against Sarakhs.[4] He attacked the people there until Zâdhawaih, their *marzubân,* asked for a treaty granting safe-conduct [*amân*] to one hundred men, but delivering the women up to the Moslems. The *marzubân's* daughter fell to the lot of ibn-Khâzim, who took her and called her Maithâ'. And so ibn-Khâzim subjugated the land of Sarakhs. (Another authority says that he made a treaty granting *amân* to one hundred men, and the *marzubân* named the hundred for him, but did not name himself, and so ibn-Khâzim put him to death and entered Sarakhs by force.)

Kîf and Bînah. Ibn-Khâzim sent from Sarakhs Yazîd ibn-Sâlim, *maula* of Sharik ibn-al-A'war, to attack Kif [5] and Bînah,[6] and he conquered them.

Ṭûs. Kanâznak, *marzubân* of Ṭûs,[7] went to ibn-'Âmir

[1] I. e. "Fortress of Ḥumrân. Meyn., p. 191.

[2] Or Nisâ. Meyn., p. 563; LeStr., p. 394.

[3] Or Bâward. Meyn. p. 13; LeStr., p. 394.

[4] Meyn., p. 307; LeStr., p. 395.

[5] Or Kaif. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 333; Meyn., p. 500; LeStr., p. 413.

[6] Or Bainah, or Buwân. Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 764; Meyn., p. 123.

[7] Meyn., pp. 395 *et seq.*; LeStr., pp. 388-390.

and made peace with him in the name of Ṭûs for 600,000 dirhams.

Harât and vicinity. Ibn-'Âmir sent an army to Harât [1] under command of Aus ibn-Tha'labah ibn-Rufayy. (Others say under Khulaid ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḥanafi.) The mayor of Harât learned of this, and went to see ibn-'Âmir, making a treaty with him for Harât and Bâdaghîs [2] and Bûshanj [3] exclusive of Ṭaghûn and Bâghûn,[4] for they had been conquered by force. Ibn-'Âmir put the treaty in writing for him as follows:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is what 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir commands the Mayor [*'aṭhîm*] of Harât, Bûshanj, and Bâdaghîs: He bids him fear God and be true to the Moslems, and to keep in peace the lands under his hand. And he has made a treaty with him in the name of Harât, plain and mountain, on condition that he pay the *jizyah* to which he had agreed, dividing this fairly over the lands. He who refuses what is laid upon his has no covenant and no protection.
>
> Written by Rabî' ibn-Nahshal
> and sealed by ibn-'Âmir.

Other authorities add that ibn-'Âmir went himself with a large force to Harât and made war upon its people; but later their *marzubân* made terms with him for Harât, Bûshanj, and Bâdaghîs for 1,000,000 dirhams.

Marw ash-Shâhijân. The *marzubân* of Marw ash-Shâhijân [5] sent to ask for a treaty, and ibn-'Âmir sent to Marw

[1] Meyn., p. 592; LeStr., pp. 407-409.

[2] Or Bâdghîs. Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 461; Meyn., p. 75; LeStr., pp. 412-415.

[3] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 758; Meyn., p. 75; LeStr., p. 431.

[4] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 474; Meyn., p. 78.

[5] Meyn., p. 526; LeStr., p. 398.

Ḥâtim ibn-an-Nu'mân al-Bâhili, who made a treaty with him for 2,200,000 dirhams. (Others say for 1,000,000 dirhams and 200,000 *jarîbs* of wheat and barley. And some say 1,200,000 ounces.) It was stipulated in their treaty that they should assign ample space for the Moslems for their dwelling places and that the apportionment of the money was the duty of the natives and not of the Moslems, who had only to collect it. 406

All of Marw was treaty land except one of its towns called as-Sinj,[1] which was taken by force.

Tribute in kind. Abu-'Ubaidah says: The treaty was made on condition of tribute in male and female slaves, beasts of burden, and goods, the people at this time not having money, and all the *kharâj* was on that basis until Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah became ruler and commuted it to money.

Ḳasr al-Aḥnaf. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir sent al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais toward Ṭukhâristân. He came to the place called [later] Ḳasr al-Aḥnaf,[2] which was a stronghold of Marw ar-Rûdh with a large rural district now known as Rustâḳ al-Aḥnaf, but called at that time Shaḳḳ al-Juradh. He besieged the people, but they made terms for 300,000. Al-Aḥnaf said, "I agree to the treaty on condition that one of our men enter the castle and cry the *adhân*[3] in it and remain among you until I depart." This was agreed to. The treaty was for the whole *rustâḳ*.

Marw ar-Rûdh. Al-Aḥnaf advanced to Marw ar-Rûdh[4] and besieged its inhabitants. They resisted fiercely, but the Moslems routed them and drove them to their fort. The *marzubân* was a descendant or relative of Bâdhâm,[5] master

[1] Meyn., p. 323; LeStr., p. 400.

[2] Meyn., p. 447; LeStr., p. 405.

[3] The call to prayer.

[4] Meyn., p. 525; LeStr., pp. 404-405.

[5] Caetani, 30:42, n. 1.

of al-Yaman. He wrote to al-Aḥnaf, "Bâdhâm's conversion bids me make peace." And he made peace with him for 60,000. (Al-Madâ'ini says that according to other authorities the amount was 600,000.)

Baghgh. Al-Aḥnaf had a force of cavalry which advanced and captured a *rustâḳ* called Baghgh[1] from which cattle were exported. Afterwards a treaty was made.

Abu-'Ubaidah's account. Al-Aḥnaf had made several attacks upon the people of Marw ar-Rûdh, when he happenced to pass by a man who was boiling a pot or kneading some dough for his companions, and heard him say, "The commander should attack from one side, from the entrance of the mountain pass." And he said to himself, "What the fellow says is right." So he attacked them with al-Marghâb[2] at his right and the mountain at his left. (Al-Marghâb was a river which flowed through Marw ar-Rûdh and then sank in the sand, later emerging in Marw ash-Shâhijân.) He put them and the Turks that were with them to rout. After this they asked for *amân,* and al-Aḥnaf made a treaty with them.

Another version. Other authorities than abu-'Ubaidah say:—The inhabitants of Ṭukhâristân[3] united against the Moslems, and there assembled a force of the people of al-Jûzajân,[4] aṭ-Ṭâlaḳân, al-Fâriyâb,[5] and the vicinity thereof, attaining the number of 30,000. To them were added the 407 people of as-Saghâniyan,[6] who were on the east bank of the stream. Al-Aḥnaf withdrew to his castle, whose

[1] Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 695; Meyn., p. 109; LeStr., p. 413.

[2] Or Murghâb. Yâḳût, vol. iv, pp. 507 *et seq.*; Meyn., pp. 526 *et seq*; LeStr., pp. 397-400.

[3] Meyn., p. 389; LeStr., pp. 426, 427.

[4] Or Jûzjân. Meyn., p. 177; LeStr., p. 423.

[5] Or Fâryâb. Meyn., p. 414; LeStr., p. 425.

[6] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 393; LeStr., pp. 439, 440.

inmates were faithful to him, and one night he went out and heard some tent-people conversing. One said, "The commander ought to go after them and join battle with them wherever he meets them." Another, who was either kindling a fire beneath his pottage or kneading, said, "Not so, but he ought to make a stand between al-Marghâb and the mountain, letting al-Marghâb be on his right and the mountain on his left, and even if the enemy outnumbered him he would only have to meet a number equal to his own followers." He thought this to be the right plan and adopted it. He had 5,000 Moslems (4,000 Arabs and 1,000 foreign converts). They joined battle. Al-Aḥnaf flourished his banner and charged. The enemy counter-charged. The king of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân made for al-Aḥnaf, rushing upon him with his lance. Al-Aḥnaf, fighting fiercely, pulled the lance from his hand. He attacked three of those who were accompanied by drums, seeking the drum-master [1] and killing him. Then Allah struck the faces of the unbelievers, and the Moslems inflicted a great slaughter, smiting with their weapons wherever they wished.

Al-Jûzajân. Al-Aḥnaf returned to Marw ar-Rûdh and met some of the enemy at al-Jûzajân. He dispatched against them al-Aḳra' ibn-Ḥâbis at-Tamîmi with the cavalry, exhorting them thus, "O banu-Tamîm, love one another and be self-sacrificing, and your cause will prosper. Begin the battle in your appetites and lusts, and your religion will help you win. Be not treacherous, and your warfare will go well with you." So al-Aḳra' set forth and met the enemy at al-Jûzajân. The Moslems at first suffered a defeat, then they returned to the charge and put to rout the unbelievers, conquering al-Jûzajân by force.

Ibn-al-Ghuraizah al-Nahshali says:

[1] Perhaps a title of nobility. Musicians had high rank at the Sassanian court. *Cf.* Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides,* p. 31.

"When torrents fall, may cloud-born water refresh
The corpses of the young men in Jûzajân,
The castles twain of the land of Ḥûf
Which the two al-Aḳra's there destroyed."

Al-Aḥnaf reduced aṭ-Ṭâlakân by treaty and conquered al-Fâriyâb. (Other authorities deny the latter, saying that Umair ibn-Aḥmar conquered it.) 408

Balkh. After this al-Aḥnaf went to Balkh,[1] the capital of Ṭukhârâ, whose inhabitants made peace with the Moslems for 400,000. Others say 700,000, but the former is more probable.) He appointed as his agent over Balkh Usaid ibn-al-Mutashammis. Then he attacked Khârizm,[2] which is wholly watered by the river, and whose capital is Sharḳîyah, but he could not prevail against it, and withdrew to Balkh where Usaid had already collected the tribute money.

Transoxiana. Abu-'Ubaidah:—Ibn-'Âmir conquered the territory this side of the river, but when he came to deal with the people on the other side of the river (Transoxiana [3]), they asked him to make a treaty with them, which he did. It is said that he crossed the river, going from place to place. Others, however, say that they came to him and arranged a treaty with him, and he sent agents who collected the tribute. Cattle, male and female slaves, silk, and garments were brought to him. Then he made the pilgrimage to give thanks to Allah.

No other authority mentions his crossing the river and making the treaty with the people of the eastern bank.

Siminjân. He made ready for the minor pilgrimage, going to 'Uthmân and leaving behind in his place Ḳais ibn-al-Haitham. After his departure, Ḳais went through the land of Ṭukhâristân, and every region he came to made

[1] Meyn., pp. 112-3; LeStr., pp. 420-422.

[2] Or Khwârizm. LeStr., chap. xxxii.

[3] LeStr., p. 433.

peace with him and submitted to him, until he came to Siminjân.[1] They resisted him, and so he besieged them until he reduced the city by force.

It has been said ibn-'Âmir assigned Khurâsân to three governors, al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais, Ḥâtim ibn-an-Nu'man al-Bâhili, and Ḳais ibn-al-Haitham, but the former account is the more probable.

Ibn-Khâzim usurps command. Later ibn-Khâzim forged a covenant in the name of ibn-'Âmir and made himself governor of Khurâsân. All the Turks there formed a combination, but he dispersed them. Then he went to al-Baṣrah before the murder of 'Uthmân.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Nakî' from ibn-'Aun from Muḥammad ibn-Sîrîn:—'Uthmân ibn-'Affân made a compact with the people of Transoxiana.

[1] Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 142; Meyn., p. 317; LeStr., p. 427.

CHAPTER II

Caliphates of 'Ali and Mu'âwiyah

Khurâsân rebels. Mâhwaih, the *marzubân* of Marw, appeared before 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib during his caliphate while he was in al-Kûfah, and 'Ali wrote in his behalf to the *dihkâns,* the *asâwirah,* and the *dihshallârs*[1] to pay to him the *jizyah.* But Khurâsân rebelled against them, so he sent Ja'dah ibn-Hubairah al-Makhzûmi (his mother was umm-Hâni' bint-abu-Ṭâlib), who failed to subdue the province, 409 and Khurâsân remained in a state of confusion until 'Ali was killed.

'Ali's 'âmils. Abu-Ubaidah says that the first of the *'âmils* of 'Ali over Khurâsân was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Abza, a freedman of Khuzâ'ah; then came Ja'dah ibn-Hubairah ibn-abu-Wahb ibn-'Amr ibn-'Â'idh ibn-'Imrân ibn-Makhzûm.

Under Mu'âwiyah. Mu'âwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân appointed as *'âmil* over Khurâsân Ḳais ibn-al-Haitham ibn-Ḳais ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt as-Sulami. He could accomplish nothing with the rebels, but collected the taxes from the people who observed the treaty. He was over them a year or a little less. Then the caliph removed him and appointed Khâlid ibn-al-Mu'ammar governor, but the latter died in Ḳasr Muḳâtil or 'Ain at-Tamr. Some authorities say that Mu'âwiyah repented of appointing him, and sent him a poisoned robe. Others, however, say that a piece of glass got into his foot from which he bled to death.

[1] Nœldeke translates "*Dorfherrn.*" *Cf. Perser,* p. 441.

Ḳais again governor. Mu'âwiyah afterwards combined Khurâsân with al-Baṣrah for ibn-'Âmir 'Abdallâh. The latter appointed Ḳais ibn-al-Haitham as-Sulami to govern Khurâsân. The people of Bâdghîs, Harât, Bûshanj, and Balkh were in a state of rebellion. Ḳais went to Balkh and began to attack its fire-temple.[1] The campaign was conducted by 'Atâ' ibn-as-Sâ'ib, freedman of the banu-l-Laith, known as al-Khashal, but al-Khashal was only his nickname. He constructed bridges over three rivers a parasang away from Balkh. They were called "the bridges of 'Atâ'".

Ḳais flogged. Later the people of Balkh offered to make peace and return to submission, and Ḳais concluded a peace with them. Then he reported to ibn-'Âmir, who inflicted upon him one hundred lashes and put him in prison. 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim was appointed governor. To him the people of Ḥarât, Bûshanj, and Bâdghîs sent to ask for peace [*amân*] and a treaty. He made terms with them and brought the tribute money to ibn-'Âmir.

Arab colonists in Marw. Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân governed al-Baṣrah in the year 45. He appointed Umair ibn-Aḥmar governor of Marw, Khulaid ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḥanifi governor of Abrashahr, Ḳais ibn-al-Haitham governor of Marw ar-Rûdh, aṭ-Ṭâliḳân, and al-Fâriyâb, and Nâfi' ibn-Khâlid aṭ-Ṭâḥi of the Azd governor of Harât, Bâdghîs, Bûshanj, and Ḳâdis of Anwârân.[2] Umair was the first to settle Arabs in Marw. 410

Al-Ḥakam ibn-'Amr. Ziyâd afterwards appointed al-Ḥakam ibn-'Amr al-Ghifâri, an abstemious man and one of the Companions. Ziyâd had merely said to Fîl, his steward, "Bring al-Ḥakam to me." He meant al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-

[1] Nûbahâr, a famous shrine of which the Barmecides were the chief priests. Meyn., pp. 569-571; LeStr., (Naw Bahâr) pp. 420-422.

[2] ? Certainly not Cádiz of Spain as in the Arabic Geographical Dictionery of 'Ali Bahjat.

l-'Âṣi ath-Thaḳafi. Umm-'Abdallâh bint-'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi was in his household. But al-Ḥakam ibn-'Amr was brought to him. When he saw him, he was pleased with him, and said " An upright fellow, one of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah." And he appointed him governor of Khurâsân. He died there in the year 50. Al-Ḥakam was the first to conduct Moslem services in Transoxiana.

Abu-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân al-Ju'ji says:—I heard 'Abdallâh ibn-al-Mubârik asking us about the history of the land and saying to one of the people of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân, " Dost thou know who conquered thy country? " He answered, " No." He said, " Al-Ḥakam ibn-'Amr al-Ghifâri."

Ar-Rabî'. Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân afterwards appointed as governor of Khurâsân ar-Rabî' ibn-Ziyâd al-Ḥârithi in the year 51, sending with him about 50,000 of the men of Kûfah and Baṣrah with their families, among them being Buraidah ibn-al-Huṣaib al-Aslami abu-'Abdallâh. He passed away in Marw during the reign of Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah. Among the colonists was also abu-Barzah al-Aslami 'Abdallâh ibn-Naḍlah, who also died there. Ar-Rabî' settled them in colonies this side of the river. He was the first who commanded the soldiers to share equally in the expenses of a campaign. He was overcome by grief when he heard of the killing of Ḥujr ibn-'Adi al-Kindi, and prayed for death. From that very day he fell into a decline and died. This was in the year 53.

Invasion of Transoxiana. Ar-Rabî' left his son, 'Abdallâh, to succeed him. The latter waged war with the people of Âmul[1] (*i. e.* Âmûyah) with some success. Then he made a treaty with them and returned to Marw, where he remained two months and then died. Ziyâd also died, and Mu'âwiyah appointed as *'âmil* over Khurâsân 'Ubaidallâh

[1] Meyn., p. 5; LeStr., p. 434.

ibn-Ziyâd, who was twenty-five years old. He crossed the Oxus with a force of 24,000 and attacked Baikand. Khâtûn [1] was in the city of Bukhârâ.[2] She sent to the Turks to ask for help, and a large number of them came to her. The Moslems encountered them and put them to flight, getting possession of their camp, and continued to advance, laying waste and burning.

Khâtûn capitulates. Khâtûn sent to them seeking terms of peace and safe-conduct, and the Moslem commander made peace with her for 1,000,000 dirhams. He entered the city and reduced Râmadîn and Baikand [3] which are two parasangs apart, Râmadîn being an offshoot of Baikand. Others say that he conquered aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân and took captive with him to al-Baṣrah a number of the people of Bukhârâ and then liberated them. 411

Sa'îd invades Transoxiana. Afterwards Mu'âwiyah appointed Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân ibn-'Affân governor of Khurâsân. He crossed the river, being the first governor to cross it with his army. With him was Rufai' abu-l-'Âliyah ar-Riyâḥi, the freedman of a woman of the banu-Riyâḥ. Rufai' abu-l-'Âliyah means "honor and excellence."

Khâtûn rebels. When the news of his crossing the river reached Khâtûn, she made peace with him at once. The people of as-Sughd,[4] the Turks, the people of Kishsh and Nasaf [5] (*i. e.* Nakhshab) approached to attack Sa'îd with 120,000, and they met at Bukhârâ. Khâtûn had tired of paying tribute and had broken the treaty. A certain slave belonging to one of the members of this coalition was present but withdrew with his followers. The rest were put to

[1] Wife of the Ḳhâkân. Nœldeke, *Perser*, p. 104, n. 2.

[2] LeStr., pp. 460-463.

[3] LeStr., p. 463.

[4] LeStr., pp. 460-473.

[5] LeStr., pp. 469-472.

rout. When Khâtûn saw this she gave guarantees to Sa'îd and renewed the treaty, and Sa'îd entered the city of Bukhârâ.

Capture of Samarḳand. Next Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân raided Samarḳand,[1] Khâtûn assisting him with men from Bukhârâ. He encamped at the gate of Samarḳand and swore that he would not leave the place until he captured it and overthrew its citadel. He engaged its people in battle three days, the number of them slain the third day being the most terrible. One of his eyes and an eye of al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah were put out. (Other authorities say that al-Muhallab's eye was put out at aṭ-Ṭâliḳân.) Then the enemy remained inside the city while the wounds among them were healing.

A man came and guided Sa'îd to a castle in which were the sons of their kings and magnates. He went there and besieged them, and the people of the city, fearing that he would capture the castle by force and put to death the inmates of it, sued for peace. He made terms with them for 700,000 dirhams, stipulating that they should give him as pledges some of the sons of their magnates, and that he might enter the city with such of his followers as he wished, and go out by the other gate. They gave him fifteen of the sons of their kings. (Some say forty and others eighty.) He threw a rock at the citadel which became lodged in the window aperture.

At-Tirmidh. Then he withdrew, and when he was at at-Tirmidh,[2] Khâtûn again made peace with him at once, but he continued the assault of at-Tirmidh until he reduced it by capitulation. Afterwards when 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami was killed, his son Mûsa went to the king of at-

[1] LeStr., pp. 463-465.

[2] LeStr., p. 440.

Tirmidh, who protected and defended him and the people with him. But Mûsa expelled him from the city and made himself ruler of it in open revolt. When Mûsa was killed, 412 the place came under the sway of the *wâlis*. Later its people rebelled and Ḳutaibah ibn-Muslim reconquered the city.

Mâlik ibn-ar-Raib says in regard to Sa'îd:

"The rude north wind has blown, causing the leaves to fall;;
 The wormwood has doffed its cloak of green for one of yellow.
So go and God be with you. Let not what we have won
 Be as snow which the wind whirls against at-Tirmidh.
Winter is an enemy that we can not fight.
 So go back and God bless you, while the warm garment is still spread."

It is said that Nahâr ibn-Tausi'ah wrote about Ḳutaibah the stanzas which begin:

"Ḳhurâsân was a land, where, when Yazîd was there,
 Every door of blessing was open.
But now it has received instead Ḳutaibah[1] with grasping fingers,
 As if his face were besprinkled with vinegar."

Death of Ḳutham ibn-al-'Abbâs. With Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân was Ḳutham ibn-al-'Abbâs ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib. He passed away in Samarḳand. Some say he suffered martyrdom there. When he learned of his death, 'Abdallâh ibn-al-'Abbâs said, "How far apart are his birthplace and his grave!" He was diligent in prayer and some one said to him, "What is the matter?", and he replied, "Have ye not heard the words of Allah, 'Ask for help with patience and prayer; verily this is a burden except for the humble'"?[2]

Ḳutham's modesty. Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ from Sharîk from Jâbir from ash-Sha'bi:—Ḳutham came into the presence of Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân in Khurâsân, and to him Sa'îd said, "I will give thee from the spoils a thousand portions."

[1] Ar. *ḳutaba* = a tight saddle. Note the pun and compare the American slang "tight-wad."

[2] Ḳoran, 2:42.

He replied, "Nay, give me only a portion for myself and one for my horse."

Murder of Sa'îd. With the hostages he had taken from as-Sughd Sa'îd marched until he reached his own city with them. He gave their clothes and sashes to his freedmen, put woolen gowns on them, and compelled them to work at the water-wheels and pumps [1] and at plowing. They surprised him in his council chamber and assassinated him. Then they killed themselves.

Mâlik ibn-ar-Raib says of Sa'îd:

"At the battle of as-Sughd thou trembledst
From craven fear till I too feared—lest thou become a Christian."

Khâlid ibn-'Uḳbah ibn-abu-Mu'aiṭ says: 413

"The best of men and the best of fathers
Was Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân, slayer of Persians,
And if fate has willed such troubles for
Sa'îd, who these days can be free from trouble?"

Sa'îd's peculations. Sa'îd deceived his associate in the matter of the *kharâj* of Khurâsân and got some of the money away from him, but Mu'âwiyah sent a messenger to meet him in Ḥulwân and he succeeded in recovering the money from him. His associate's name was Aslam ibn-Zur'ah. (Others say Isḥâḳ ibn-Ṭalḥah ibn-'Ubaidallâh.) Mu'âwiyah had become suspicious that Sa'îd might repudiate him, and on that account he hastened to depose him.

Next Mu'âwiyah appointed 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Ziyâd governor of Khurâsân. He was of excellent character. Mu'âwiyah died while he was governor.

[1] Ar. *sawânî,* perhaps camels, used to draw water.

CHAPTER III

CALIPHATES OF YAZÎD AND 'ABD-AL-MALIK

First Arab woman in Transoxiana. Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah appointed as governor Salm ibn-Ziyâd. With him the people of Khârizm made peace, paying 400,000 [dirhams] and bringing them to him. He crossed the Oxus accompanied by his wife, umm-Muḥammad bint-'Abdallâh ibn-'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thaḳafi, who was the first Arab woman to be taken across the river. He went to Samarḳand, and its people gave him 1,000 [dirhams] blood-wit.[1] A son was born to him there whom he named as-Sughdi. His wife asked the wife of the lord of as-Sughd to lend her her ornaments. She kept them upon her person and went off with them.

Khujandah. While Salm ibn-Ziyâd was in as-Sughd, he sent against Khujandah [2] an army in which was A'sha ("the blind man") of Hamdân. The army was put to rout and al-A'sha says:

> "Oh that my horse on the day of Ḳhujandah had not
> fled and deserted me helpless in the battle!
> Ill luck attended my struggles and at eve I departed
> to Allah, dyed in the blood of combat."

Further raids by Salm. Then Salm returned to Marw, from which place he afterwards made raids. He made an expedition across the river and killed Bandûn of as-Sughd. The Sogdians united to oppose him and he engaged them in battle.

[1] I. e. for the murder of Sa'id.

[2] Lestr., pp. 479, 489.

He is unpopular. When Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah died, the natives of the province combined against Salm, saying, "Ibn-Sumaiyah is infernally mistaken if he thinks he is going to rule us *in peace and war* as was said to his brother 'Ubaidallâh in al-Baṣrah." He withdrew from Khurâsân and 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair came and fined him 4,000,000 dirhams and put him in prison.

Salm used to say, "Would that I had gone to Syria and had not been ashamed to serve my brother, 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd, even though I had to wash his feet, instead of seeking the hospitality of ibn-az-Zubair." 414

His escape and death. He remained in Makkah until al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf had surrounded ibn-az-Zubair, when he broke out of the prison and went to al-Ḥajjâj, and then to 'Abd-al-Malik. The latter said to him, "By God, if thou hadst remained in Makkah, she would have had no ruler but thee, and there would have been none in her to command thee." And he appointed him governor of Khurâsân again. But he died when he arrived at al-Baṣrah.

Another version. Some authorities say that 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami had met Salm ibn-Ziyâd in Nîsâbûr at the time of his departure from Khurâsân, and Salm wrote him a diploma for Khurâsân and had assisted him to the amount of 100,000 dirhams. A large number of Bakr ibn-Wâ'il and others got together and said, "Why should these fellows devour Khurâsân to our hurt?" They attempted to seize the treasures of ibn-Khâzim, but their attack was successfully resisted.

Rival governors. Sulaimân ibn-Marthad, a member of the banu-Sa'd ibn-Mâlik ibn-Dubai'ah ibn-Ḳais ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Ukâbah of the Marâthid ibn-Rabî'ah, sent to ibn-Khâzim a message, saying, "The diploma of investiture which thou hast, if its owner wishes to stay in Khurâsân, let him not depart therefrom, and it will be well with thee."

Sulaimân went and established himself in Mashra'at-Sulaimân, while ibn-Khâzim abode in Marw, and they agreed to write to ibn-az-Zubair and whichever one of the two he commanded, should be the *amîr*. This was done, and ibn-az-Zubair appointed 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim governor of Khurâsân. To him six months later 'Urwah ibn-Ḳuṭbah brought his diploma, but Sulaimân forbade this to be accepted, saying, "Ibn-az-Zubair is not caliph. He is only a refugee in the house?"

Sulaimân killed. Ibn-Khâzim attacked him at the head of 6,000 men, although Sulaimân had 15,000, but Sulaimân was killed by Ḳais ibn-'Âsim as-Sulami, and his head cut off. A number of the followers of ibn-Khâzim were wounded.

The war-cry of ibn-Khâzim was "Hâma![1] they shall not win the victory!" and that of Sulaimân was "Ho! The victory of Allah is nigh!"

Ibn-Khâzim and Aus. The routed troops of Sulaimân fled to 'Umar ibn-Marthad in aṭ-Ṭâliḳân, and ibn-Khâzim advanced against him, attacked, and killed him. Rabî'ah fled to Aus ibn-Tha'labah in Harât, and ibn-Khâzim, leaving his son, Mûsa, in his place, proceeded against him. There were some encounters between their followers, and and Turks seized upon this as an oportunity for plunder, keeping up their raids until they got near to Nîsâbûr.

Death of Aus. Ibn-Khâzim plotted to poison Aus, who did become sick as they assembled for the battle. Ibn-Khâzim exhorted his followers, saying, "Make the day yours. Spear the horses in their nostrils." (For a horse could only be speared in the nostrils, unless it turned around.) There was a fierce conflict. Aus, who was sick, was overcome by wounds and died as a result of them some days later. Ibn-Khâzim appointed his son Muḥ-

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[1] Lane, Dict., p. 638, col. a.

ammad governor of Harât, setting Bukair ibn-Wishaḥ in command of his guard, and Khurâsân was in his power.

Insurrection of the banu-Tamîm. Later the banu-Tamîm in Harât were aroused and killed Muḥammad, whereupon his father seized 'Uthmân ibn-Bashr ibn-al-Muḥtafiz and had put him to death when in bonds, also putting to death a man of the banu-Tamîm. The banu-Tamîm assembled and took counsel together, saying, "What think ye of this? Let a large party of us separate and go to Ṭûs, and when he (ibn-Khâzim) proceeds against them, those of us who remain in Marw will depose him." Bujair ibn-Waḳâ' aṣ-Ṣuraimi of the banu-Tamîm went to Ṭûs with a number of companions and entered the fort.

Ibn-Khâzim deposed. Then they removed to Abrashahr and deposed ibn-Khâzim. Ibn-Khâzim sent his treasures to at-Tirmidh with his son, Mûsa, not daring to entrust it to any one of the banu-Tamîm in Marw. A letter of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was sent to ibn-Khâzim, appointing him governor of Khurâsân, but he made his messenger eat the letter, saying, "I do not want to meet Allah after depriving of his office the son of a disciple of the Apostle of Allah and acknowledging in his stead a son of those who persecuted him."

Bukair becomes governor. 'Abd-al-Malik wrote to Bukair ibn-Wishaḥ to administer Khurâsân, and ibn-Khâzim was afraid to refer the matter of the people of Marw to him. Bukair had deposed ibn-Khâzim, seized the weapons and the treasury, and urged the people of Marw to acknowledge his own investiture by 'Abd-al-Malik. They accepted his appointment.

Bujair attacks ibn-Khâzim. Ibn-Khâzim left to join his son, Mûsa, who was in at-Tirmidh with his household and valuables. Bujair followed him and attacked him in the neighborhood of Marw. He summoned Wakî' ibn-ad-

Daurakiyah al-Kurai'i (His father's name was 'Umairah, but his mother was one of the captives of Daurak and from her his surname is derived.) to bring his breast-plate and weapons, and he put on his armor and went out and charged upon ibn-Khâzim, accompanied by Bujair ibn-Wakâ'. They thrust him through with the spear, and Wakî' sat on his breast and said, "Revenge for Dawîlah!" (Dawîlah, whom ibn-Khâzim had killed, was the brother of Wakî' on his mother's side and was a freedman of the banu-Kurai'.) Ibn-Khâzim spat in his face, saying, "Allah curse thee. Dost thou kill the leader of Muḍar to avenge thy brother, an unbeliever not worth a handful of date-stones?" Wakî' said,

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> "Taste, O son of 'Ajla, the like of that thou givest me to taste,
> And think not that I am like to forget it."

('Ajla was the mother of ibn-Khâzim. His *kunyah* was abu-Ṣâliḥ. The *kunyah* of Wakî' ibn-ad-Daurakîyah was abu-Rabî'ah.)

Together with 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim were killed his two sons, 'Anbasah and Yaḥya; and Ṭahmân, the freedman of ibn-Khâzim, grandfather of Ya'kûb ibn-Dâ'ûd, who was the scribe of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mahdi, after abu-'Ubaidallâh, was wounded with a lance.

Ibn-Khâzim's head. Bukair ibn-Wishaḥ was presented with the head of ibn-Khâzim, and sent it to 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân who set it up in Damascus. His right hand was cut off and sent to the sons of 'Uthmân ibn-Bishr ibn-al-Muḥtafis al-Mazani.

Wakî'. Wakî was rough and of a rugged constitution. In front of him one day as he was praying was a plant. He began to eat from it, and some one said to him, "Dost thou eat while thou art praying?" He replied, "Allah has not forbidden us to eat a plant which he causes to grow with water from heaven falling upon the dust of the earth?"

He used to drink wine, and when he was remonstrated with on this account, he said, "Concerning wine do ye remonstrate with me, though it makes my urine clear until it is like silver?"

Another version. Many were indignant at ibn-Khâzim, and a difference of opinion arose; part of the people siding with Bukair ibn-Wishaḥ and part with Bujair. The chiefs and nobles of the people of Khurâsân wrote to 'Abd-al-Malik, informing him that Khurâsân would not recover from the effects of the civil strife except under a man of Ḳuraish. And so he appointed Umaiyah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asîd ibn-abu-l-Îṣ ibn-Umaiyah governor of Khurâsân, and Bukair ibn-Wishaḥ he made governor of Ṭukhâristân. Later he commissioned him to raid Transoxiana. Then Umaiyah urged the raiding of Bukhârâ. Then they both went against Mûsa ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim in at-Tirmidh. But Bukair withdrew to Marw, seized and imprisoned Umaiyah's son, and urged the people to depost Umaiyah. They complied, and when this came to the ears of Umaiyah, he made peace with the people of Bukhârâ for a small ransom, reconstructed the boats which Bukair had burned, and returned, giving up the campaign against Mûsa ibn-'Abdallâh. Umaiyah advanced, and Bukair attacked him, but later made peace with him on condition that he receive the appointment as governor of whatever region he chose. Afterwards Umaiyah, finding out that even after this he was intriguing for his deposition, gave orders that when he entered his house he should be seized. He entered, was seized, and ordered to prison, but Bujair ibn-Waḳâ' fell upon him by surprise and killed him. 417

Al-Khutal. Umaiyah raided al-Khutal,[1] who had broken their treaty after Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân had made terms of peace with them, and he subjugated them again.

[1] LeStr., p. 438.

CHAPTER IV

Mûsa's Insurrection

Al-Muhallab governor. Al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf later ruled over Khurâsân together with the two 'Irâḳs. He appointed over Khurâsân al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah. (His name was Ṭhâlim ibn-Sarrâḳ ibn-Ṣubḥ ibn-al-'Atîk of the Azd. In the year 99 he took the *kunyah* abu-Sa'îd.) He made many raids, and conquered al-Khutal, which had again broken faith, and Khujandah. As-Sughd paid up the tribute to him. He raided Kishsh and Nasaf, and after his return, he died of the pleurisy in Zâghûl of Marw ar-Rudh. His illness began with the mourning over his son, al-Mughîrah ibn-al-Muhallab.

Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab. Al-Muhallab left his son, Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab, in his place. The latter made many raids, conquering al-Buttam [1] by the hand of Mukhallad ibn-Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab. Al-Ḥajjâj gave Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab the appointment as governor. Now at the time of the flight of ibn-al-Ash'ath and the others, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-al-'Abbâs ibn-Rabî'ah ibn-al-'Ḥârith ibn-al-Muṭṭalib, having set out in company with ibn-al-Ash'ath, had gone to Harât, killed ar-Ruḳâd al-'Ataki, and took the *kharâj*. Yazîd proceeded against him. They fought a battle, and Yazîd put them to rout, but gave orders to refrain from pursuing them. The Hâshimi [2] fled as far as as-Sind. Yazîd raided Khârizm and obtained captives. The army put on the garments of the captives, who died as a consequence of the cold.

[1] LeStr., pp. 466-7.

[2] I. e. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân.

Al-Mufaḍḍal brother of Yazîd. Afterwards al-Ḥajjâj appointed al-Mufaḍḍal ibn-al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah governor. He reduced Bâdghîs, which had broken the convenant, Shûmân [1] and Âkhrûn, obtaining booty which he devided among the army.

The campaign against Mûsa. Mûsa ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami was in at-Tirmidh. He had gone to Samarḳand, whose king, Ṭarkhûn, entertained him hospitably. But one of Mûsa's followers assaulted and killed a man of as-Sughd, and Ṭarkûn expelled him and those with him, and he went to the lord of Kishsh. Then he came to at-Tirmidh, which is a stronghold, and lodged as the guest of the *dihḳân* of at-Tirmidh. The latter prepared him a dinner, and he reclined as he ate. The *dihḳân* said to him "Depart." But he replied, "I do not know another such a home as this." He fought the people of at-Tirmidh until he overpowered them. Its *dihḳân* and people went out to the Turks to ask them for help, but they gave them no assistance, saying, "Allah curse you. Have ye no pride? A man comes upon you with a hundred followers and expels you from your city and deprives you of it by force."

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Mûsa's forces rally. Then the followers of Mûsa came to him one and all, those who had been with his father and others. The lord of at-Tirmidh and its people kept at the Turks until they gave them aid, and in a body they advanced upon Mûsa and his men. But Mûsa attacked them by night and got possession of their camp. Sixteen of the Moslems were taken prisoner.

Thâbit and Ḥuraith. With Mûsa were Thâbit and Ḥuraith, the Khuzâ'is, sons of Ḳuṭbah. They urged Ṭarkhûn and his followers to supply Mûsa with troops. He gave him help and enlisted many men for him. The boldness of these two brothers was of great service to Mûsa, and they

[1] LeStr., p. 440; Zotenberg, *Ṭabari*, vol. iv, p. 153.

became generals and counsellors in his army. It was even said to him, "Thou hast only the name, while these two are masters of camp and campaign."

Mûsa wins a victory. A number of the Hayâṭilah and the Turks on the side of the people of at-Tirmidh made a sortie against him, fighting fiercely, but the Moslems defeated them and their allies. When al-Ḥajjâj heard of this he said, "Praise be to Allah who has helped the 'hypocrites' against the polytheists." Mûsa made great watch towers of the heads of those who had attacked him.

Death of Ḥuraith. Ḥuraith ibn-Ḳuṭbah was struck by a wooden arrow and killed, and the followers of Mûsa said to Mûsa, "Allah has freed us in regard to Ḥuraith; now free us in regard to Thâbit, for we cannot endure him."

Thâbit flees. Thâbit learned of what they were saying about him, and upon obtaining proof of it, he fled to Baḥshûrâ, asking Ṭarkhûn for assistance, which was granted. Mûsa made a sudden attack and got possession of the suburbs of the city. Then the Sogdians received many reinforcements, and so he returned to at-Tirmidh and fortified himself therein, the people of Kishsh, Nasaf, and Bukhârâ giving him help.

Thâbit assassinated. Thâbit besieged Mûsa with 80,000 and Mûsa sent Yazîd ibn-Huzail as a mediator to Yazîd al-Ḳaṣîr al-Khuzâʻi and he accomplished the following: He gained an audience with Thâbit and struck him on the head with his sword a blow from which he died seven days later. When he died, Yazîd threw himself into the river of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân and escaped. 419

Ṭarkhûn defeated. Urged by his companions, Ṭarkhûn made a stand, but Mûsa defeated them by a night attack, and the Persians returned to their several countries. The people of Khurâsân used to say, "We never saw the like of Mûsa, who fought with his father two years without a retreat."

Mûsa takes at-Tirmidh. Then he went to at-Tirmidh, and got control of it, though with but a trifling number of followers, and expelled its king from it. Then he fought the Turks and Persians, and routed them with sudden attacks.

'Uthmân ibn-Mas'ûd put in command. When Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab was dismissed, and al-Mufaḍḍal ibn-al-Muhallab became ruler of Khurâsân, he put Uthmân ibn-Mas'ûd in command of the campaign. The latter advanced until he took his position with 15,000 men on an island in [the country of] at-Tirmidh, called today Jazîrah 'Uthmân. He hemmed in Mûsa, and wrote to Ṭarkhûn, who came to him. Mûsa, when he saw who it was that had come out against him, made a sortie from the city, saying to his men whom he left behind in the city, "If I am killed, surrender the city to Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab, and do not surrender it to ibn-Mas'ûd."

Mûsa slain. The Turks and the Sogdians moved in between Mûsa and the fort. His horse stumbled with him and he fell. Khalaf, one of his freedmen, was riding behind him. Mûsa said, "Death is hateful." 'Uthmân caught sight of him and exclaimed, "By the company of Moses and the Lord of the Ka'bah," rushing upon him until he and his freedman were struck down. Then they leaped upon him and killed him. His followers also were killed. None of them escaped except Raḳiyah ibn-al-Harfânah, who was handed over to Khâlid ibn-abu-Barzah al-Aslami. The man who gave the last stroke to Mûsa ibn-'Abdallâh was Wâṣil ibn-Ṭaisalah al-'Anbari. The city was surrendered to Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab. Mûsa's death was in the latter part of the year 85. A man struck Mûsa's thigh after he was slain, and when Ḳutaibah became ruler, he put this man to death.

CHAPTER V

Ḳutaibah's Conquests

Kutaibah governor of Khurâsân. Al-Ḥajjâj then appointed as governor of Khurâsân Ḳutaibah ibn-Muslim al-Bâhili. He made an expedition against Akharûn. When he was in aṭ-Ṭalikân,[1] the two *dihkâns* of Balkh met him and crossed the river with him. At the time he crossed the river, there also came to him the king of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân with gifts and a golden key, paying him submission and inviting him to settle in his country. The king of Akharûn and Shûmân had been oppressing and raiding the king of as-Ṣaghâniyân, and that is why he gave Ḳutaibah these presents and this invitation. The king of Kafyân came to Ḳutaibah with the same purpose as that for which the king of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân had come to him, and both surrendered their lands to him. 420

Conquests by Ṣâliḥ. Ḳutaibah withdrew to Marw, leaving his brother, Ṣâliḥ, as his lieutenant over Transoxiana. Ṣâliḥ conquered Kâsân [2] and Ûrasht [3] which is part of Farghânah. With him in his army was Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr. Ṣâliḥ conquered . . . . ,[4] and Khashkat [5] of Farghânah, its ancient capital. The last of the conquerors of Kâsân

[1] In al-Jûzajân. LeStr., p. 423. There is another Ṭâliḳân in al-Jibâl.

[2] LeStr., p. 480.

[3] LeStr., p. 476.

[4] Name not decipherable.

[5] Probably Ḳhâsh or Khâsht. LeStr., p. 483. *Kat* = city.

and Ûrasht was Nauḥ ibn-Asad, the people thereof having risen in rebellion in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Muntaṣir-billâh.

Baikand reduced. The king of Jûzajân sent envoys to Ḳutaibah, who made peace with him on condition that he come to him. He did so, but later returned, and died in at-Ṭâlikân. Then Ḳutaibah, Nîzak being with him, raided Baikand in the year 87. He crossed the river from Zamm to Baikand, which is the nearest of the cities of Bukhârâ to the river. They rebelled and asked the Soghdians for aid, but Ḳutaibah attacked them, invading their country and besieging them. They asked for terms, but he reduced the city by force.

Tûmushkat and Karmîniyah. Ḳutaibah raided Tûmushkat [1] and Karmîniyah [2] in the year 88, leaving as his lieutenant over Marw his brother, Bashshâr ibn-Muslim. After capturing a few small forts, Ḳutaibah made peace with them. He also raided Bukhârâ and reduced it by treaty.

Ibn-al-Muthanna's account. Ḳutaibah made an expedition against Bukhârâ. The inhabitants defended themselves against him, and he said, "Let me enter the city, and I will only pray two *reka's* therein." They gave him permission to do so, but he concealed some men in ambush, and upon entering the city, these overpowered the gate keepers, and the Moslems entered the city. Ḳutaibah obtained much money thereby, dealing perfidiously with the inhabitants. He assaulted as-Sughd; killed Nîzak in Tukhâristân, and crucified him, and reduced Kishsh and Nasaf (*i. e.* Nakshab) by treaty.

The king of Khârizm. The king of Khârizm was weak, and Khurzâd, his brother, had opposed him and overpowered him. The king sent to Ḳutaibah, saying, "I will 421

[1] LeStr., p. 462.

[2] LeStr., p. 468.

make thee such and such gifts, and deliver unto thee the keys, on condition that thou establish me securely as king over my country instead of my brother."

Khârizm consists of three cities encompassed by a moat. The strongest of them is Madînat-al-Fîl.[1] 'Ali ibn-Mujâhid says that Madînat-al-Fîl is merely Samarḳand. The king established himself in the strongest of the cities and sent to Ḳutaibah the money specified in his agreement with him, and the keys. Ḳutaibah dispatched his brother, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Muslim against Khurzâd, whom he attacked and killed, getting possession of 4,000 captives. He put these to death, and established the former king of Khârizm on the throne in accordance with the agreement made with him. The people of his kingdom, however, said to the Moslem, " He (their king) is weak." And they assaulted and killed him. Ḳutaibah appointed his brother, 'Ubaid-allâh ibn-Muslim, governor of Khwârizm (*sic*).

Samarḳand reduced. Ḳutaibah raided Samarḳand, where the kings of as-Sughd formerly used to live, although later they made their abode in Ishtikhân. Ḳutaibah besieged the people of Samarḳand, engaging in many battles. While the fighting was going on between them, the king of as-Sughd wrote to the king of ash-Shâsh, who was staying in aṭ-Ṭâraband.[1] The latter came to him with a number of his soldiery. The Moslems met them and there was a very fierce engagement. Finally Ḳutaibah, with a sudden charge, put the enemy to rout. Ghûzak capitulated, the terms being an annual payment of 1,200,000 dirhams, and that the Moslem might conduct prayers in the city. Ḳutaibah entered the city, where Ghûzak had prepared for him a feast. He ate and led in prayer; constructed a mosque, and de-

[1] LeStr., p. 447.

[2] A locality in ash-Shâsh.

parted, leaving in the city several Moslems, among them aḍ-Ḍaḥḥâk ibn-Muzâḥim, author of the commentary on the Ḳuran.

Another version. Other authorities say that Ḳutaibah granted peace for 700,000 dirhams and entertainment for the Moslems for three days. The terms of the surrender included also the houses of the idols and the fire temples. The idols were thrown out, plundered of their ornaments, and burned, although the Persians used to say that among them was one idol with which whoever trifled would perish. But when Ḳutaibah set fire to it with his own hand, many of them accepted Islâm.

Al-Mukhtâr ibn-Ka'b al-Ju'fi says of Ḳutaibah:

> "He subdued as-Sughd with the tribes until
> He left the Soghdians sitting in nakedness."

'Umar orders an investigation. Abu-'Ubaidah and others say:—When 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz became caliph, 422 there came to him representatives of the people of Samarḳand who complained to him that Ḳutaibah had entered their city and settled the Moslems there fraudulently. 'Umar wrote to his *'âmil* with orders to appoint them a *ḳâḍi* to investigate what they had related, and, if he decided in favor of expelling the Moslems, they should be expelled. The *'âmil* appointed for them Jumai' ibn-Ḥâḍir al-Bâji, who decreed the expulsion of the Moslems, provided that the two parties should fight upon equal terms. But the people of the city of Samarḳand were averse to warfare, and let the Moslems remain, and so they stayed among them.

Ḳutaibah's conquests. Al-Haitham ibn-'Adi from ibn-'Ayyâsh al-Hamadhâni:—Ḳutaibah conquered the whole of ash-Shâsh and took Asbîjâb.[1] Other authorities say that the fortress of Ashbîjâb was captured before; then the

[1] LeStr., p. 484.

Turks together with some of the people of ash-Shâsh took it; finally in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mu'taṣim-billâh, Nauḥ ibn-Asad conquered it and built about it a wall surrounding the vineyards and farms of the inhabitants.

Abu-'Ubaidah Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that Ḳutaibah conquered Khârizm and Samarḳand by force. Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân had made treaties with their inhabitants, but Ḳutaibah conquered them afterwards. They had not broken faith, but he disregarded their treaty. He conquered Baikand, Kishsh, Nasaf, and ash-Shâsh; raided Farghânah and subdued part of it, and raided as-Sughd and Ushrûsanah.[1]

[1] LeStr., pp. 474-476.

CHAPTER VI

Ḳutaibah's Downfall

Ḳutaibah and Sulaimân. Ḳutaibah feared the hostility of Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik; he had worked to have 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-al-Walîd succeed to the caliphate, and wanted to keep the succession from Sulaimân. When al-Walîd died, and Sulaimân succeeded him, Ḳutaibah harangued the people, and said, "Habannaḳat-al-'Â'ishi has become your ruler." This he said because Sulaimân used to give gifts to and confer favors upon the wealthy and prosperous and neglect others; and Habannakah[1] (i. e. Yazîd ibn-Tharwân) used to give his fat camels much fodder and pasture [instead of feeding up the thin ones], saying, "I will not try to improve what Allah has spoiled." Ḳutaibah urged the people to depose Sulaimân, but none of them consented to this. Then he reviled the banu-Tamîm, reproaching them with treachery, and saying, "Ye are not banu-Tamîm [upright], but banu-Dhamîm [blameworthy]." And he upbraided the banu-Bakr ibn-Wâ'il, calling them "brothers of Maslamah." He upbraided the Azd, saying, "Ye have traded your spears for oars and the bridles of your horses for boats." And he said, "O people of the Sâfilah (lowlands, or vileness), for I will not call you people of the 'Âliyah (highlands, or superiority). Verily, I place you where Allah hath placed you."

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Sulaimân wrote to Ḳutaibah, in regard to his governorship of Khurâsân, and ordered him to release all who were

[1] "Dwarf."

in his prison, to pay the army their stipends, and to allow all who wished to return to do so—something they were looking forward to—and he ordered the messenger to make public the contents of the letter. Ḳutaibah said, "This is part of his plan against me." And he arose and said, "Men, behold, Sulaimân hath bestowed upon you the marrow of mosquitoes' legs, and you are going to permit the oath of allegiance to a good-looking boy whose sacrificial animal is not [yet] lawful." [1]

The people were angered against him because of his reviling them, and he apologized for it, saying, "I was angry and did not know what I was saying. I sought only your good." They, however, talked among themselves, saying, "If he permit us to return, it were well for him. If he does not, he has only himself to blame." This came to Ḳutaibah's ears, and he harangued the men, setting forth in detail his beneficence towards them, and blaming their lack of fidelity to him and their opposition, and showing them the danger from the Persians against whom he had led them to victory. But they resolved to fight him, and answered him not a word, but besought al-Ḥuḍain ibn-al-Mundhir to be allowed to appoint him to take comand of their affairs. He declined, but recommended to them Wakî' ibn-Ḥassân ibn-Ḳais ibn-abu-Sûd ibn-Kalb ibn-'Auf ibn-Mâlik ibn-Ghudânah ibn-Yarbû' ibn-Hanthalah at-Tamîmi, saying, "No one except him is strong enough for this matter, for he is a rough Arab whose kinfolk will obey him, and moreover he is of the banu-Tamîm, and since Ḳutaibah put to death the sons of al-Ahtam, the Tamîm will seek blood revenge for them." And so they betook themselves to Wakî', and he gave them his hand and they swore obedience to him. Before this the mediator between him and them was Ḥayyân, the freedman of Maṣḳalah.

[1] I. e. too young to offer sacrifice.

In Khurâsân at this time there were of Başran soldiery 40,000, of Kûfans 7,000,[1] and of *mawâli* 7,000.

Wakî' feigned illness and remained indoors. Kutaibah kept sending for him. He had rubbed his feet and his leg with red clay, and would say, "I am so ill that I am unable to move about." And when Kutaibah would send some people to bring Wakî' to him, they would slip away and go to Wakî' and tell him. Then Wakî' called for his armor and a spear and took the veil of the mother of his children 424 and tied it to it. A man called Idrîs met him and said to him, "O abu-Muțarraf, thou desirest something and thou fearest that from which the man has granted thee safety; Allah is Allah!" But Wakî' said, "This Idrîs is the apostle of Iblîs. Will Kutaibah indeed grant me safety? By Allah! I will not go to him until his head is brought to me."[2] And he went slowly on towards the camp of Kutaibah and came to it while Kutaibah was with his household and some people who were loyal to him.

His brother Şâlih said to his slave, "Bring my bow." Some one there said to him scoffingly, "This is no time for a bow," and [at this moment] a man of the banu-Ḍabbah shot at him and pierced his breast bone. He fell to the ground and was carried into the camp and died, Kutaibah being at his head. Then Kutaibah kept saying to Ḥayyân, who was in command of the Persians, "Charge," but Ḥayyân would say, "The time for this has not yet come;" and when the Persians did charge upon the Arabs, Ḥayyân said, "O soldiers of Persia, why should ye kill one another for Kutaibah? It is because he is kindly disposed towards you?" And he deserted with them to the banu-Tamîm.

The battle began. Those who stood by Kutaibah were his brothers and his household and some of the sons of the

[1] Zotenberg, *Tabari*, vol. iv, p. 211, says 47,000 Kûfans.

[2] I. e. "I will not trust him until he is dead."

kings of as-Sughd who were ashamed to desert him. The tent ropes of his camp were cut, and the ropes of the pavilion, and they collapsed upon Ḳutaibah. The supports of the pavilion struck him on the top of his head and killed him, and 'Abdallâh ibn-'Alwân cut off his head.

Some authorities, among them Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi, deny this, saying that the soldiers came in upon him in his camp, and Jahm ibn-Zaḥr al-Ju'fi killed him, and Sa'd ibn-Majd struck him, and ibn-'Alwân cut off his head.

With him were killed many of his brothers and of his household, and aṣ-Ṣammâ', the mother of his children. Ḍirâr ibn-Muslim escaped, the banu-Tamîm according him protection. The Azd took the head of Ḳutaibah and his signet ring. To Wakî' was brought Ḳutaibah's head, and he sent it to Sulaimân by Salîṭ ibn-'Aṭîyah al-Ḥanifi. The army started to plunder the Bâhilah,[1] but Wakî' prevented this.

Wakî' wrote to abu-Mijlaz Lâḥiḳ ibn-Ḥumaid, appointing him over Marw. He accepted, and the people were pleased with him.

Ḳutaibah, the day he was killed, was fifty-five years old.[2] At his death those who were in Khurâsân were divided into factions, but Wakî' ibn-abu-Sûd kept order in the country.[2] Sulaimân wanted to make him governor of it, but some one told him that Wakî' was exalted by war but degraded by peace, and was characterized by rudeness and the uncouthness of the desert. Wakî' used to call for a brass chamber-pot and urinate while people were looking at him. 425

Wakî' imprisoned. He continued there nine months, until Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab came to supersede him. Yazîd was in al-'Irâḳ, and Sulaimân wrote to him to go to

[1] Ḳutaibah's tribe.

[2] Text corrupt. I have adopted De Goeje's suggestion as to the reading.

Khurâsân, dispatching to him his writ of appointment. Yazîd sent his son, Mukhallad, on ahead. The latter had an accounting with Wakî' and put him in prison, saying to him, "Pay over Allah's money." He replied, "Hast thou been one of Allah's treasurers?"

Al-Buttam reduced. Mukhallad raided al-Buttam and conquered it. The inhabitants afterwards broke faith, and he left them and went off in another direction from them, so that they hoped he had withdrawn. But he returned suddenly and entered their city. Jahm ibn-Zaḥr also entered it and seized in it money and idols of gold, and the people of al-Buttam [today] claim relationship to him.

Ḳutaibah and the sons of al-Ahtam. Abu-'Ubaidah Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that they used to believe that 'Abdallâh ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-al-Ahtam abu-Khâḳân had written to al-Ḥajjâj, traducing Ḳutaibah and telling of the wealth that he had acquired. 'Abdallâh at that time was Ḳutaibah's lieutenant over Marw for Ḳutaibah, whenever he sent on a raid, would make him his lieutenant over Marw. When the raid against Bukhârâ and its vicinity was going on, and as usual Ḳutaibah had appointed him his lieutenant, there came to him (Ḳutaibah) Bashîr, one of the sons of al-Ahtam, and said to him, "Thou art too lenient with 'Abdallâh, though he is an envious mischief-maker. We do not feel confidence in him that he will not displace thee and mistreat us." Ḳutaibah replied, "Thou sayest this only because of thine own envy towards the son of thy uncle." He said, "Let my pardon rest with thee; if this come to pass, thou wilt excuse me."

Ḳutaibah went off on a raid, and 'Abdallâh wrote the above mentioned letter about him to al-Ḥajjâj, and al-Ḥajjâj enclosed his letter with one of his own to Ḳutaibah. The messenger went on his journey, stopped in a street of Marw, and then went on without coming to 'Abdallâh. But the

latter had a presentiment of evil, and fled all the way to Damascus, where he spent some time peddling wine and linen stuffs in a bundle which he carried on his back. Then he placed a rag and some cotton on one of his eyes, and then bandaged it, and so got the nickname of abu-Ṭînah ("the muddy"); and he used to sell olive oil. In this condition he continued until al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik perished and Sulaimân succeeded him. Then he put off the dirt and the rag and delivered a speech of congratulation for Sulaimân and of excoriation for al-Ḥajjâj and Ḳutaibah, 426 who had both sworn allegiance to 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-'Abd-al-Malik and had repudiated Sulaimân. As the people dispersed, they said, "Abu-Ṭînah, the oil seller, is the most eloquent of men."

When ibn-al-Ahtam's letter to al-Ḥajjâj finally reached Ḳutaibah, the latter, failing to get hold of 'Abdallâh, turned against al-Ahtam's cousins and sons, one of whom was Shaibah abu-Shabîb, and killed nine of their men, Bashîr among them. Bashîr said to him, "Remember my excuse with thee." But Ḳutaibah said, "Thou didst put one foot forward and the other back,[1] O enemy of Allah," and killed them all.

Wakî' swears vengeance. Before this Wakî' ibn-abu-Sûd had been in command of the banu-Tamîm in Khurâsân. Then Ḳutaibah had removed him from the command over them, and appointed a certain man of the banu-Ḍarâr aḍ-Ḍabbi, who said, when they were killed, "Allah slay me if I slay him not." People noticed his absence from the noon and afternoon prayer, and said to him, "Thou didst not attend prayer." He answered, "How shall I pray for a master who has killed a number of ours, all of them mere boys, and felt no anger in their behalf?"

Madînat-al-Fîl. Abu-'Ubaidah relates:—Ḳutaibah raided

[1] Proverb equivalent to "trying to carry water on both shoulders".

Madînat-al-Fîl and conquered it; Umayyah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asîd had taken it before this, but they broke the terms of the treaty, and Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab made an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer it. Ka'b al-Ashkâri says:

> "Fîl gave herself to thee and well for her! Though
> before thee the babbling braggard aspired to her."

(He meant Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab.)

'Umar II appoints al-Jarrâḥ. 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz, when he became caliph, wrote to the kings of Transoxiana, inviting them to accept Islâm. Some of them did so. The *'âmil* of 'Umar over Khurâsân was al-Jarrâḥ ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḥakami. He seized Mukhallad ibn-Yazîd and Yazîd's *'âmils* and imprisoned them.

The frontier of China. Al-Jarrâḥ sent 'Abdallâh ibn-Ma'mar al-Yashkuri to Transoxiana. The latter advanced far into the country of the enemy, even having it in his mind to enter China (*aṣ-Ṣîn*). But the Turks hemmed him in, until to save himself he drew back from them, going to ash-Shâsh. 'Umar refused to collect the *kharâj* from those who accepted Islâm in Khurâsân, showed favors to the converts, and built *khâns*.

Al-Jarrâḥ removed. Later 'Umar was told that al-Jarrâḥ was ruling in a partisan spirit. The latter wrote him that the inhabitants of Khurâsân could not be kept in order except by the sword. The caliph did not credit this, and dismissed him. 'Umar owed him a debt, but paid him, and appointed 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Nu'aim al-Ghâmidi to take charge of the military operations in Khurâsân, and 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḳushairi to collect the *kharâj*. 427

Al-Jarrâḥ ibn-'Abdallâh used to take silver and gold coins of different weights and put them under the carpet in his room, and when any one of his brothers or intimate friends came to visit him, he would toss to each one of them in proportion to his opinion of each one's deserts.

CHAPTER VII

Caliphates of Yazîd and Hishâm

Sa'îd al-Khudhainah. Afterwards Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, when he became ruler, appointed Maslamah ibn-'Abd-al-Malik governor of al-'Irâḳ and Khurâsân. Maslamah appointed Sa'îd ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ibn-Umayyah to govern Khurâsân. This Sa'îd was nicknamed Ḥudhaifah,[1] because some one of the *dihḳâns* of Transoxiana happened upon him in a yellow gown and with his hair done up, and said, "This is Ḥudhaifah," meaning "mistress." Sa'îd was Maslamah's nephew by his daughter.

Sa'îd's lieutenant defeated. Sa'îd sent on as his lieutenant Saurah ibn-al-Ḥurr al-Ḥanthali. Later he sent his son. The latter crossed over to Transoxiana and established himself at Ishtîkhan.[2] The Turks had attacked the city, but he entered into conflict with them, putting them to rout, and protecting the people from their exactions for a [long] time. Later on he met the Turks in battle again, and they defeated him and made a great slaughter among his followers; and Sa'îd appointed Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr to the command.

(An indecent verse about Sa'îd is here omitted.)

Khudhainah replaced by al-Jurashi. Some of Khurâsân's leading people sought audience with Maslamah, complaining

[1] Text corrupt. De Goeje reads as above, but the nickname of Sa'îd is given in Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1297, as Ḳhudhainah (*Cf.* De Goeje, Glossary p. 34). Ḥudhaifah = "The one (fem.) with the clipped ("bobbed") hair."

[2] LeStr., p. 466.

of Sa'îd; so he dismissed him, and made Sa'îd ibn-'Amr al-Jurashi governor of Khurâsân. When the latter arrived there, he ordered his scribe to read aloud his commission. The scribe made some mistakes in pronunciation, and Sa'îd said, "O people, the commander is guiltless of these mistakes which ye have heard."

As-Sughd subjugated. Al-Jurashi sent to as-Sughd, inviting its people to return to submission, and refrained from troubling them until his envoys could bring back their acquiescence in his succession to the rule. Then he marched against them. More than 10,000 of their main body deserted and left them, coming over to submit, and al-Jurashi conquered all of the strongholds of as-Sughd, subjugating the enemy completely.

Muslim succeeds al-Jurashi. Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik had designated Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik as heir apparent, 428 and after him al-Walîd ibn-Yazîd. When Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik died, Hishâm succeeded to the throne, and appointed 'Umar ibn-Hubairah al-Fazâri governor of al-'Irâḳ. The latter dismissed al-Jurashi, and appointed Muslim ibn-Sa'îd as his *'âmil* over Khurâsân. He raided Afshîn and then made peace with him, the terms being 6,000 sheep and the surrender of his citadel to him. Then he withdrew to Marw.

Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr. He made Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr his lieutenant over Tukhâristân. A number of the Arabs refused to acknowledge the latter's authority, and he resorted to force, but, later, ambassadors of both parties met and came to an agreement.

Muslim's rebellion. Then Hishâm appointed as his *'âmil* over al-'Irâḳ Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḳasri, who made his brother, Asad ibn-'Abdallâh, governor of Khurâsân. News of this reached Muslim ibn-Sa'îd, who marched until he came to Farghânah, and took possession of that city. He

cut the trees and laid waste the cultivated land. The Turkish Khâḳân came down upon him with his army, and he withdrew from Farghânah and marched three stages on a single day, until his beasts could go no further. The Turks attacked the outskirts of his camp.

One of the poets says:

> "Thou didst wage war on us rebelliously, fearing dismissal,
> But thou didst not escape from this vain world of trouble."

Al-Ḥasan fears the Turks. Asad proceeded to Samarḳand and appointed as *'âmil* over it al-Ḥasan ibn-abu-l-'Amarraṭah. The Turks used to attack the outskirts of Samarḳand and raid, and al-Ḥasan would retreat whenever they made a raid, and would not meet them. One day he was preaching, and cried out against the Turks in his sermon, saying, "O God, cut off the last remnant of them, and speedily destroy their power, and send down calamity (*ṣabr*) upon them." And the people of Samarḳand reviled him, and said, "Nay, let God rather send down ice (*ṣabar*), and make their feet to slip."

Asad's conquests. Asad raided the Nimrûd mountains, and Nimrûd surrendered to him and accepted Islâm. He raided al-Khuttal. When he arrived at Balkh, he ordered its city to be built and transferred the government offices thither. In his raids against al-Khuttal he could accomplish nothing, but brought suffering and hunger upon the people. Charges were preferred to him against Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr, and he had him beaten and sent him to Khâlid together with three men who were suspected of insurrection. Then Asad withdrew from Khurâsân, leaving as his lieutenant over it al-Ḥakam ibn-'Awânah al-Kalbi.

Ashras governor. Hishâm appointed as *'âmil* over Khurâsân Ashras ibn-'Abdallâh as-Sulami. With him was a Nabatean scribe named 'Umairah, his *kunyah* being abu-

Umayyah. This scribe incited him to evil. Ashras increased the assessments of Khurâsân, ignored the *dihḳâns,* invited the people of Transoxiana to accept Islâm, and ordered the remission of the *jizyah* for all converts to the faith. There was a rush to accept Islâm, and the taxes decreased. When Ashras saw this, he seized the tribute money.[1] The people disapproved of this, and became disaffected towards him. Thâbit Ḳuṭnah al-Azdi championed their cause. He was called Ḳuṭnah ("cotton") because he had a sightless eye upon which he used to wear a piece of cotton. Ashras sent and scattered them, seized Thâbit and imprisoned him. Later he let him go, on paying a sum of money, and sent him away somewhere, and the Turks made an attack upon him and killed him.

Al-Junaid governor. In the year 112 Hishâm appointed al-Junaid ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân al-Murri *'âmil* over Khurâsân. He met the Turks and attacked them, sending out some skirmishers, who defeated the son of Khâḳân while he was out hunting and drunk. They captured him and took him to al-Junaid ibn-abd-ar-Raḥmân, who sent him to Hishâm, and continued the campaign against the Turks until he had overcome them. He wrote for reinforcements to Hishâm, who sent to his assistance 'Amr ibn-Muslim at the head of 10,000 men from al-Baṣrah, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Nu'aim at the head of 10,000 from al-Kûfah. He also supplied him with 30,000 spears and 30,000 shields, and took charge of the payments, assigning stipends to 15,000 men.

Death of al-Junaid. Al-Junaid made many raids. During his administration the partisans of the banu-Hishâm spread and their cause became strong. Al-Junaid died in

[1] Ar. *musâlamah.* De Goeje, Glossary, p. 53.

Marw, and Hishâm appointed as governor of Khurâsân ‘Âṣim ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-Yazîd al-Hilâli.

Abu-‘Ubaidah Ma‘mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that the regions about Tukhâristân became turbulent, and al-Junaid ibn-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân subdued them and brought them back to peace and the payment of tribute.

CHAPTER VIII

UNDER THE ABBASIDES

Border raids. Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr raided Ushrûsanah during the reign of Marwân ibn-Muḥammad, but could accomplish nothing against it. And when the Commander of the Believers, abu-l-'Abbâs, succeeded to the caliphate, he and the caliphs after him kept appointing *'âmils* who penetrated the borders of the enemy's country, invading their territory, and making war upon whoever did not acknowledge allegiance, or who having made an agreement, had broken it, and bringing back to terms those who refused to fulfil 430 their agreement, by declaring war upon them.

Ushrûsanah. Al-Ma'mûn, the Commander of the Believers, when he became caliph, made war upon as-Sughd and Ushrûsanah and those of the inhabitants of Farghânah who had rebelled against him. He persevered in fighting and attacking them as long as he was in Khurâsân and afterwards. When he sent his cavalry against them, he would write to them, inviting them to become converts to Islâm and subjects of the caliph, and even making them desire to do so.

Kâbul.[1] He sent an army against Kâbul-Shah, who submitted to taxation and acknowledged obedience. The post reached to that country, so that myrobalan[2] fruit was brought to the caliph therefrom, arriving quite fresh.

[1] LeStr., pp. 348-9; Meyn., p. 469.

[2] See note on page 155, *supra*.

The king of Ushrûsanah. Kâwis, king of Ushrûsanah, wrote to al-Faḍl ibn-Sahl, al-Ma'mûn's *wazîr* and secretary [of state], who is known as dhu-r-Riyâsatain,[1] asking him for peace, agreeing to pay him tribute in money, if he would keep the Moslems from raiding his country. This was agreed to; but when al-Ma'mûn went to Madînat-as-Salâm, Kâwis refused to carry out the agreement.

In his household was a favored steward (*Ḳahramân*) who had given his daughter in marriage to Kâwis' son, al-Faḍl. Al-Faḍl used to associate intimately with him and loved him dearly. He used to talk with him against Kâwis' son, Ḥaidar (known as al-Afshîn), reviling him. Ḥaidar assaulted the steward and killed him at the *Kunb* gate of their city, and fled to Hâshim ibn-Muḥawwar al-Khuttali. Hâshim was in his country to appoint a king over it. Ḥaidar besought him to write to his father (Kâwis), asking for pardon. But when he killed his steward, Kâwis had already married Umm-Junaid to Ṭarâdis, and he fled in company with some of his *dihḳâns*. When this came to the knowledge of Ḥaidar, he professed Islâm and set out for Madînat-as-Salâm, and described to al-Ma'mûn the ease with which Ushrûsanah might be taken; he made light of the bad reports which people had made to the caliph in regard to the place, and described to him a short road thither.

As a consequence al-Ma'mûn sent Aḥmad ibn-abu-Khâlid al-Aḥwal, the scribe, with a strong force to raid it. When he became aware of the latter's approach towards him, Kâwis sent al-Faḍl ibn-Kâwis to the Turks to aṣk for aid. Numbers of them rallied to his assistance; but Aḥmad ibn-abu-Khâlid marched to the country of Ushrûsanah and had 431

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 778, reads *Ri'âsatain.* The title signifies simply that he held two high offices. In later times it means "learned in science and theology." *Encyclopedia of Islam,* vol. ii, p. 36, says the two offices Faḍl held were those of vizier and commander-in-chief.

conquered its capital before al-Faḍl reached the Turks. Kâwis had thought that he would advance along the long road, and that he did not know the short way, and consequently fell into his power. Becoming disheartened, he submitted and declared obedience. The news of it reached al-Faḍl and he turned aside with the Turks to a desert place. Then he separated from them and went rapidly until he came to his father and received amnesty (*amân*) together with him. The Turks perished of thirst.

Kâwis went to Madînat-as-Salâm and professed Islâm, and al-Ma'mûn confirmed him as king over his country. Later he made his son, Ḥaidar (*i. e.* al-Afshîn), king after him.

Transoxiana under al-Ma'mûn. Al-Ma'mûn used to write to his *'âmils* in Khurâsân to raid those of the people of Transoxiana who had not submitted and accepted Islâm. He would send his envoys to grant pensions in the Register (*dîwân*) to those whom he liked. He wanted the good will of the people of these regions and of the sons of their kings, and to conciliate them by favors. When they came to his door, he honored them and gave them his blessing.

Under Mu'taṣim. Then Mu'taṣim-billâh became caliph, and followed the example of his predecessor to such an extent that most of the leaders[1] of his army were from the troops of the people of Transoxiana: Sogdians, Farâghânah, and people of al-Ushrûsanah, ash-Shâsh, and other places. Their kings used to visit him; Islâm became dominant in those regions; and the inhabitants of those countries began to make war against the Turks beyond them.

The Ghûzîyah. 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṭâhir had his son, Ṭâhir ibn-'Abdallâh raid the country of the Ghûzîyah,[2] and he

[1] Ar. *Shuhûd.* De Goeje, Glossary, p. 59.

[2] Probably the Oghuz Turks, called by the Arabs Ghuzz. *Cf. Encyc. of Islam.,* vol. ii, p. 168; LeStr., p. 486.

conquered places to which none of the Moslems before him had reached.

Arab colonists. Al-'Umari from al-Haitham ibn-'Adi from ibn-'Ayyâsh:—Ḳutaibah colonized Transoxiana with Arabs, settling them in the land of Farghânah and ash-Shâsh.




PART XX

CONQUEST OF AS-SIND

CHAPTER I

Border Raids

Under 'Umar I. 'Ali ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Saif:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb appointed 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi ath-Thaḳafi over al-Baḥrain and 'Umân in the year 15. The latter sent his brother, al-Ḥakam, to al-Baḥrain, and went himself to 'Umân, and sent an army across to Tânah.[1] When the army returned, he wrote to 'Umar, informing him of this expedition. 'Umar wrote to him in reply, "O brother of the Thaḳîf, thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allah, I swear that if they had been smitten, I would exact from thy tribe the equivalent." 432

Al-Ḥakam sent an expedition against Barwaṣ[2] also, and sent his brother, al-Mughîrah ibn-abu-l-'Âṣi, to the gulf of ad-Daibul,[3] where he met the enemy in battle and won a victory.

Under the caliph 'Uthmân. When 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân became ruler, he appointed 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir ibn-Kuraiz governor of al-'Irâḳ, and wrote to him, ordering him to send to the frontier of al-Hind[4] to secure information about it and to bring him back the news thereof. 'Abdallâh sent Ḥakîm ibn-Jabalah al-'Abdi, and upon his return, despatched him to 'Uthmân, who asked him about the condi-

[1] Near Bombay. Ibn-Baṭûṭah, vol. ii, p. 177; LeStr., p. 257.

[2] Or Barûṣ, i. e. Broach. Reinaud, *Journal asiatique*, Feb. 1845, p. 156. note 2.

[3] Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 638; LeStr., pp. 330-331.

[4] LeStr., p. 331, note 1.

tion of the country. He replied, "O Commander of the Believers, I have examined it and know it thoroughly." The caliph said, "Then describe it to me." He answered, "The water supply is scanty; the dates are inferior; and the robbers are bold. A small army would be lost there, and a large army would starve." 'Uthmân said to him, "Are you giving me information or reciting poetry?"[1] He replied, "Nay, information." As a consequence 'Uthmân did not have any one raid the land.

Al-Ḥârith's raid. But in the latter part of the year 38 and the beginning of the year 39, in the caliphate of 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib, al-Ḥârith ibn-Murrah al-'Abdi undertook an expedition to this frontier, with the permission of 'Ali. He was victorious, and gained booty and captives, distributing on a single day 1,000 head. He was later killed together with all but a few of his followers in the country of al-Ḳiḳân.[2] His death occurred in the year 42.

Al-Ḳiḳân is part of the land of as-Sind where it boarders on Khurâsân.

Al-Muhallab raids frontier. Then al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah raided this frontier in the days of Mu'âwiyah in the year 44. He reached Bannah[3] and al-Ahwâr,[4] towns between al-Multân[5] and Kâbul. The enemy met and attacked him and his followers. In the country of al-Ḳiḳân, al-Muhallab met with eighteen Turkish knights, riding horses with docked tails. They attacked him, but were all killed. Al-Muhallab said, "How much more expeditious in manoeuvering these barbarians were than we!" [In conse-

[1] Ḥakîm's sentences were in rhymed prose.

[2] Meyn., p. 468.

[3] Meyn., p. 118.

[4] Meyn., *loc. cit.* says Lahore. *Cf.* Elliot, *History of India,* vol. i, p. 116.

[5] LeStr., pp. 331-333.

quence] he had the tails of his own horses docked, being the first Moslem to do such a thing.

Of Bannah al-Azdi says: 433

> "Ḳnowest thou not that the Azd, the night they were attacked
> In Bannah, were the best of the army of al-Muhallab?"

'Abdallâh ibn-Sawwâr. Afterwards 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir, in the time of Mu'âwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân, appointed 'Abdallâh ibn-Sawwâr al-'Abdi over the frontier of al-Hind. (Some say that Mu'âwiyah himself appointed him.) He made a raid upon al-Kiḳân and obtained booty. Then he went to Mu'âwiyah and presented him with some Ḳîḳân horses. He remained there for a while and then returned to al-Ḳîḳân, but the Turks collected their forces and killed him. The poet says about him:

> "Ibn-Sawwâr all the time
> Ḳindling fires and slaying hunger."[1]

He was given to hospitality and let no fire be kindled in his camp except his own.[2] One night he saw another fire and said, "What is this?" They answered, "A woman in child birth for whom a date custard is being made." Thereupon he ordered that the men be given such a custard to eat three times.

Sinân ibn-Salamah. Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân, in the days of Mu'âwiyah, appointed Sinân ibn-Salamah ibn-al-Muḥabbiḳ al-Hudhali to the command. He was an excellent, godly man, and was the first to bind the troops by an oath to divorce their wives.[3] He proceeded to the frontier

[1] Yâḳût has a different text, which Barbier de Meynard, p. 469, translates, "*Le fils de Sawar allume le feu contre ses ennemis et extermine les pervers.*" *Cf.* also Reinaud, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[2] So that he would have a monopoly of the hospitality.

[3] Yâḳût, (*Cf.* Meyn., p. 538) adds "so that they should not flee." Yâḳût's text in this passage and in the verses that follow has several different readings. See Meyn., *loc. cit.*

and conquered Mukrân[1] by force. He established a garrison there and made it his headquarters and kept the country in order. Concerning him the poet says:

"I saw the Hudhail, solemnly swearing
To divorce their wives who had no dower.
It were easy for me to take such an oath as ibn-Muḥabbiḳ's,
When they have taken the gold rings from their necks.[2]

Ibn-al-Kalbi says that the one who conquered Mukrân was Ḥakîm ibn-Jabalah al-'Abdi.

Râshid ibn-'Amr. Afterwards Ziyâd put in charge of the frontier Râshid ibn-'Amr al-Judaidi of the Azd.[3] He went to Mukrân; then he conducted a successful raid against al-Ḳiḳân; but later, while raiding the Mîd, he was killed. Sinân ibn-Salamah succeeded to the command of the army, and Ziyâd appointed him over the frontier. He remained there two years.

Al-A'sha of Hamdân says of Mukrân:

"And thou art going to Mukrân.—
How far the destination from the starting place!
I have no use for Mukrân,
Either to fight there or to trade.
I was told about it; I did not go there; 434
And I always dislike to hear about it.
Most people there are hungry,
And the rest of them are depraved.[4]

Al-Ḳunduhâr. Abbâd ibn-Ziyâd raided the frontier of al-Hind from Sijistân. He went to Sanârûdh; thence he proceeded by way of Kahz to ar-Rûdhbâr,[5] of the land of Sijistân as far as the river Hindmand.[6] He camped at

[1] Or Makrân. Yâḳût (Meyn., p. 538); LeStr., pp. 329-333.

[2] See note 3, p. 211.

[3] Yâḳût and Reinaud read the name differently. Meyn p. 538.

[4] Dif. readings in Yâḳût (Meyn.).

[5] Meyn. p. 266; LeStr., p. 344.

[6] The text is corrupt here. Kahz is dubious. See De Goeje, p. 434, note *c*.

Kishsh,[1] and crossed the desert until he came to al-Ḳunduhâr,[2] whose inhabitants he attacked and put to flight, driving them back, and conquering the land after a number of Moslem casualties. He saw there the high turbans of the natives, and had some made like them. [In consequence of this] they are called *'abbâdîyah*.

Mufarrigh says:

"How many a footprint in the jungles and land of India,
And tunics of the unburied slain
In Ḳunduhâr. Yea, of these whose scroll was sealed
In Ḳunduhâr, none brought back the news."

Al-Mundhir. Ziyâd next appointed al-Mundhir ibn-al-Jârûd al-'Abdi (his *kunyah* being abu-l-Ash'ath) over the frontier of al-Hind. He raided al-Bûkân[3] and al-Ḳîḳân. The Moslems were victorious and captured much booty and distributed the troops among the cities there. Al-Mundhir conquered Ḳuṣdâr[4] and took many captives there. Sinân had taken it before, but its inhabitants had rebelled. Al-Mundhir died there. The poet says:

"He came to Ḳuṣdâr, and there he found
The grave. He rejoiced not with them that rejoiced.
To Allah belong Ḳuṣdâr and its grapes.
Alas! What a hero of the world and of religion is buried there!"[5]

Ibn-Ḥarrî. Then 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd put in command ibn-Ḥarrî al-Bâhili, by whose hand Allah subdued this country. He fought a fierce and successful campaign there, acquiring much booty.

Some authorities say that 'Ubaidallâh appointed Sinân 435

[1] Or Kiss. LeStr., p. 344.

[2] Meyn., p. 461; LeStr., p. 347.

[3] Or Nûḳât. Meyn., p. 122-3.

[4] Meyn., p. 446; LeStr., pp. 331-333; De Goeje, p. 445.

[5] Dif. reading in Yâḳût (Meyn., *loc. cit.*)

ibn-Salamah and that Ḥarrî (*sic*) was in command of his troops.

Concerning Ḥarrî ibn-Ḥarrî the poet says:

> "Had I not been bold in al-Bûḳân, there had not returned
> Thence the troops of ibn-Ḥarrî with spoils of war."

Al-Bûḳân. The inhabitants of al-Bûḳân today are Moslems. 'Imrân ibn-Mûsa ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Khâlid al-Barmaki built a city there which he named al-Baiḍâ' ("the white"). This was in the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim-billâh.

CHAPTER II

Campaigns Under Al-Ḥajjâj

Sa'îd ibn-Aslam governor. When al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-'Ukail ath-Thakafi became governor of al-'Irâk, he appointed Sa'îd ibn-Aslam ibn-Zur'ah al-Kilâbi over Mukrân (*i. e.* the frontier). Mu'âwiyah and Muḥammad, the sons of al-Ḥârith al-'Ilâfi, led an expedition against him, and he was killed. The two 'Ilâfis got control of the frontier. The name of 'Ilâf was Rabbân ibn-Ḥulwân ibn-'Imrân ibn-al-Ḥâf ibn-Kuḍâ'ah, and he was the father of Jarm.

Mujjâ'ah. Al-Ḥajjâj then appointed Mujjâ'ah ibn-Si'r at-Tamîmi governor of this frontier. Mujjâ'ah made raids, gaining booty, and conquering portions of Kandâbîl.[1] Later Muḥammad ibn-al-Kâsim completed the conquest. Mujjâ'ah died a year after in Mukrân.

The poet says:

> "Not one of the great deeds thou hast done,
> But the mention of it makes thee more shameless."[2]

Followed by Muḥammad ibn-Hârûn. Then, after Mujjâ'ah, al-Ḥajjâj appointed Muḥammad ibn-Hârûn ibn-Dhirâ' an-Namari, and during his administration the king of the island of Rubies[3] sent to al-Ḥajjâj some women who were born in his country as Moslems, their fathers, who had

[1] Meyn., p. 461; LeStr., pp. 331-333.

[2] Ar. *mujjâ'a,* a play on the name.

[3] Ceylon. Reinaud, *Fragments,* p. xxviii, *Mémoire,* p. 180; Elliot, *op. cit.,* p. 118.

been merchants, having died. He wanted to court favor with al-Ḥajjâj by sending them back. But the ship in which they were sailing was attacked by some of the Mîd of ad-Daibul in barks (*bawârij*), and was captured with all that was in it. One of the women, who was of the tribe of the banu-Yarbû', cried out, "O Ḥajjâj!" al-Ḥajjâj heard of this and exclaimed, "Here am I." He sent to Dâhir, asking him to set the women free, but Dâhir replied, "Pirates over whom I have no control captured them." So al-Ḥajjâj sent 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Nabhân to raid ad-Daibul, but he was killed. Then al-Ḥajjâj wrote to Budail ibn-Ṭahfah al-Bajali, who was in 'Umân, ordering him to go against ad-Daibul. But when Budail met the enemy, his horse 436 ran away with him, and the enemy surrounded him and killed him. (Other authorities say that he was killed by the Zuṭṭ of al-Budhah.[1])

This island was called the Island of Rubies because of the beauty of the faces of its women.

Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim. Then al-Ḥajjâj put Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-'Ukail in charge, during the reign of al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik. He raided as-Sind. Muḥammad was at that time in Fârs and had received orders from al-Ḥajjâj to march to ar-Rai. He sent abu-l-Aswad Jahm ibn-Zaḥr al-Ju'fi towards ar-Rai in command of his van, but al-Ḥajjâj sent Jahm back to Muḥammad, and had the latter take over the frontier of as-Sind, reinforcing him with 6,000 from the army of the people of Syria, and a number from other sources, and supplying him with everything he desired, even to thread and needles. Al-Ḥajjâj ordered him to stay in Shîrâz until he got all his followers together, and all of his preparations made.

Vinegar in cotton. Al-Ḥajjâj prepared clean cotton

[1] Bud-hah. Meyn., p. 87. See also Nad-hah, p. 562.

and soaked it in vinegar made of sour wine, and then hung it up in the shade to dry. He said, "When ye get to as-Sind, vinegar is scarce there, so put this cotton in water; then heat it up, and season with it." Other authorities say that Muḥammad, when he got to the frontier, wrote to al-Ḥajjâj, complaining of the scarcity of vinegar with them, and he sent him the cotton dipped in vinegar.

Ibn-al-Ḳâsim's campaigns. Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim went to Mukrân and remained there some days; then he went to Ḳannazbûr[1] and conquered it; then to Armâ'îl[2] and conquered it. Muḥammad ibn-Hârûn ibn-Dhirâ' met him, joined forces with him, and accompanied him, but died not far from there, and was buried in Ḳanîl.[3]

Siege of ad-Daibul. Then Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim went from Armâ'îl, accompanied by Jahm ibn-Zaḥr al-Ju'fi, arriving at ad-Daibul on a Friday. To him came some ships laden with men, weapons, and supplies. When he encamped at ad-Daibul, he constructed trenches; lances were set up along the trenches, with flags flying from them, and the troops camped according to their flags. He had catapults, known as *'arûs,*[4] set up, manned by 500 men. 437

Buddhist temple in ad-Daibul. In ad-Daibul was a great Buddhist temple on which was a long yard-arm [*daḳal*] with a red banner on it that, when the wind blew, went around the city, twisting and turning. The temple [*budd*] (according to tradition) was a great minaret erected in the midst of their buildings, and housing their idol or idols,

[1] Or Ḳannajbûr. LeStr., p. 329, says this is a clerical error for Fannazbûr. *Cf.* Iṣṭakhri, p. 170.

[2] Or Armabîl. LeStr., pp. 330, 333.

[3] So pointed in the Cairo edition. De Goeje is uncertain, but seems to think that Ḳanbal for Ḳanbali is the right reading. *Cf.* LeStr., p. 330; Elliot, *Hist. of India,* vol. i, p. 119.

[4] See Dozy. It is probably a non-Arabic word. Ar. *'arûs* = bride.

through which the building was renowned. The idol was inside of the minaret also. Everything which they honored in a religious way was called by them *Budd,* the idol also being *Budd.*

Al-Ḥajjâj counsels Muḥammad. Al-Ḥajjâj kept sending messages to Muḥammad, and every three days Muḥammad would dispatch his replies to him, describing the progress of the campaign, and asking his advice about what should be done in the matter. One letter came to Muḥammad from al-Ḥajjâj, saying, "Set up the *'arûs,* shortening its foot, and placing it towards the east. Then summon the officer in command of it, and order him to aim the shot at the yard-arm which thou didst describe to me."

Ad-Daibul taken. The yard-arm was shot at and broken, and the consequent dismay of the unbelievers was great. Then Muḥammad, upon their making a sortie against him, attacked them, and drove them clear back in flight. He ordered up the ladders. They were placed in position, and the men went up them, the first of them to get up being a Kûfan from Murâd. The city was thus conquered by force, and Muḥammad kept up the slaughter of the inhabitants for three days. Dâhir's governor fled from the place, but the custodians of the house of their god were killed. Muḥammad marked out a quarter for the Moslems, built a mosque, and settled 4,000 colonists there.

The Buddhist temple destroyed. Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya says, "Manṣûr ibn-Ḥâtim an-Naḥawi, freedman of the family of Khâlid ibn-Asîd, related to me that he saw the yard-arm, which was on the minaret of the *Budd,* broken, and that 'Anbasah ibn-Isḥâḳ aḍ-Ḍabbi, who ruled over as-Sind in the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim-billâh, tore down the top of this minaret, and made a prison of it; and began the rebuilding of the city with the stones of this minaret which were torn down. He was deposed before the completion of this.

After him Hârûn ibn-abu-Khâlid of Marw-ar-Rûdh was ruler. He was killed there."

Al-Bîrûn and Sahbân. Muḥammad ibn-Ḳâsim went to al-Bîrûn,[1] whose inhabitants had sent two Buddhist monks of their number to al-Ḥajjâj and had made a treaty with him. They supplied Muḥammad with provisions, received 438 him into their city, and had the treaty confirmed. Muḥammad brought to terms every city he came to, until he crossed a river this side of the Mihrân, where some monks of Sarbîdas [2] came to him and made a treaty with him in behalf of the people they represented. He imposed the *kharâj* upon them and advanced against Sahbân [3] and conquered it. Then he went to the river Mihrân [Indus] and encamped in the midst of it.[4] This came to the knowledge of Dâhir, who made ready to attack him.

Sadûsân. Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim had sent Muḥammad ibn-Muṣ'ab ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ath-Thaḳafi against Sadûsân [5] with cavalry and pack trains.[6] Its inhabitants sought peace [*amân*] and a treaty, and the monks sent envoys to mediate between him and them. He granted them peace; assessed taxes upon them; took pledges from them, and returned to Muḥammad ibn-Ḳâsim with 4,000 of the Zuṭṭ, who joined Muḥammad. The general appointed a man to rule Sadûsân.

[1] Or Nîrûn. But see Reinaud, *Jour. As.*, Feb. 1845, p. 169, note 2.

[2] Name doubtful. De Goeje lists it as a place, as also Reinaud, who translates, "*Alors il vit venir à lui les Samanéens* (*prêtres*) *de . . . . qui venaient*" etc. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 121, translates, "Then he saw approaching towards him Sarbîdas, the Samanî, who came" etc.

[3] Sihwân. Elliot, p. 397, equates Siwistân with Sihwân. Reinaud has Sohwân in his map.

[4] Reinaud translates "*sur ses bords.*" Elliot has simply "there." I have translated literally.

[5] Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

[6] Ar. *ḥammârât* = riders upon asses, but is a double plural.

Dâhir killed. Later Muḥammad sought to cross over the Mihrân, and succeeded in doing so by means of a bridge which he built across it at a point where it borders on the territories of Râsil,[1] the king of Ḳaṣṣah of al-Hind, while Dâhir was careless and neglectful of him. Muḥammad and the Moslems met him mounted upon an elephant and surrounded by elephants and accompanied by the Takâkirah.[2] A fierce battle ensued, the like of which had not been heard of. Dâhir was forced to dismount; he kept on fighting, but was killed near evening. The polytheists were put to rout, and the Moslems slaughtered them at will. The one who killed Dâhir, according to the tradition of al-Madâini, was a man of the banu-Kilâb, who said,

"The horses at the battle of Dâhir bear witness and the spears
And Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim ibn-Muḥammad,
That fearlessly I scattered the host of them
Until I came upon their chief with my sword,
And left him rolled in the dirt,
Dust on his unpillowed cheek."

Manṣûr ibn-Ḥâtim told me that Dâhir and his slayer are portrayed in Barwaṣ, and Budail ibn-Ṭahfah is portrayed in Ḳand,[3] and his grave is in ad-Daibul.

'Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ'ini from abu-Muḥammad al-Hindi from abu-l-Faraj, who says: When Dâhir was killed, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim was in complete control of the country of as-Sind.

Ibn-al-Kalbi says: The one who killed Dâhir was al-Ḳâsim ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Abdallah ibn-Ḥiṣn aṭ-Ṭâ'i. 439

The wife of Dâhir. Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim conquered Râwar[4] by force. In this place there was a wife of Dâhir,

[1] De Goeje suggests Râsik; but see Elliot, p. 121.

[2] A plural formed from the Sanskrit *thakkura* = master. Reinaud translates "*généraux*."

[3] A suburb of Khujandah in Farghânah. But the text here is doubtful.

[4] Meyn., p. 255; LeStr., pp. 309, 325.

who, in fear lest she be captured, burned herself and her attendants and all her possessions.

Brahmanâbâdh. Then Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim went to old Brahmanâbâdh,[1] just two parasangs from al-Manṣûrah.[2] (Al-Manṣûrah did not exist at that time; its site was nothing but a jungle.) The disordered forces of Dâhir were in this Brahmanâbâdh. They resisted Muḥammad, and he conquered the place by force. 8,000 were killed there. (Some say 26,000.) He left his lieutenant to govern the place for him. It is in ruins today.

Sâwandarai. Muḥammad set out for ar-Rûr [3] and Baghrûr,[4] and the people of Sâwandarai [5] met him asking for peace. He granted it to them, but made it a condition that they should entertain the Moslems and furnish them with guides. The people of Sâwandarai are Moslems today.

Basmad. Then he proceeded to Basmad [6] and made a treaty with its people having terms like those of the treaty of Sâwandarai.

The Buddhist temples. Ar-Rûr is as far as Muḥammad advanced. It is one of the cities of as-Sind, and is on a mountain. He besieged its inhabitants some months, but finally reduced the city by capitulation, the terms being that he should not put anyone to death, nor interfere with their temples [*budd*]. He said, "The *budd* are like the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire-temples of the Magians." He imposed the *kharâj* upon them in ar-Rûr and built a mosque.

[1] LeStr., p. 331.

[2] Mas'ûdi, vol. i, p. 207; Meyn., p. 546; LeStr., p. 331.

[3] Meyn., p. 268; Elliot, p. 363.

[4] Meyn., p. 268.

[5] Reinaud, *Mém.*, p. 62.

[6] Not identified.

As-Sikah. Muḥammad proceeded against as-Sikah,[1] a city on this side of the Bayâs [2] and conquered it. Today as-Sikah is in ruins.

Al-Multân. Then he crossed over the Bayâs river to al-Multân. The people of al-Multân resisted him, but Zâ'idah ibn-'Umair aṭ-Ṭâ'i covered himself with glory, and the polytheists fled and entered the city. Muḥammad besieged them. The supplies of the Moslems became so low that they ate the asses. Then a man came to them, asking for protection [*amân*], and guided them to the place where the water of which the people drank entered. It was water flowing from the Basmad river, and was collected in a reservoir like the Pool in al-Madînah. They call it al-Balâḥ.[3] He shut it off, and when they became thirsty, they 440 surrendered at discretion. Muḥammad put to death the men of fighting age, and enslaved the women and children, and made captives of the custodians of the *budd,* numbering 6,000. He obtained much gold.

The House of Gold. This wealth was collected in a building, ten by eight cubits in dimension, into which whatever was deposited was cast through a window, opening in its roof. From this al-Multân was called the "*Farj* of the House of Gold." (*Farj* means literally "the frontier.")

The temple in al-Multân. The *Budd* of al-Multân was a shrine to which valuable offerings were given, and to which vows were paid, and to which the people of as-Sind made pilgrimages. They made the circuit of it, and shaved their heads and beards there. They claim that the image in it is that of the prophet Aiyûb [Job].

[1] Not identified.

[2] Elliot, p. 142, note 2.

[3] Reinaud reads *nullah,* an Indian word meaning a canal or stream which flows only part of the year. Elliot prefers *talaḥ* = tank. The Cairo edition reads *balâḥ.*

A profitable campaign. Al-Ḥajjâj made a reckoning, and found that he had expended upon Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim 60,000,000 dirhams, and that what the latter brought back was 120,000,000. So he said, "We have appeased our rage and obtained revenge, and have made a profit of 60,000,000 dirhams plus the head of Dâhir."

Al-Bailamân and Surast. Al-Ḥajjâj died and the news of his death was brought to Muḥammad, who returned from al-Multân to ar-Rûr and Baghrûr, which he had conquered, and distributed gifts to the army. He dispatched a force against al-Bailamân,[1] which did not resist, but offered submission. Also the people of Surast[2] made peace with him. It is at war with the people of al-Baṣrah today. Its habitants are Mîd who cross over the sea.

Al-Kîraj. Then Muḥammad went to al-Kîraj.[3] Dûhar issued forth against him, and they fought. The enemy was put to rout, and Dûhar fled. (Others say that he was killed.) The inhabitants of the city surrendered at discretion to Muḥammad, who put them to death or enslaved them.

The poet says:

> "We [it was who] slew Dâhir and Dûhar,
> The cavalry trotting, squadron by squadron."

[1] A city in as-Sind. There was another Bailamân in Jîlân.

[2] Ibn-Khurdadbih, p. 57, reads Surusht.

[3] Perhaps Kîranj. LeStr., p. 400.

CHAPTER III

CALIPHATE OF SULAIMÂN

Muḥammad imprisoned. Al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik died, and Sulaimân [1] ibn-'Abd-al-Malik succeeded him. He appointed Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân to take charge of the *kharâj* of 'Irâḳ. The latter sent Yazîd ibn-abu-Kabashah as-Saksaki to as-Sind, and he put Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim in chains together with Mu'âwiyah ibn-al-Muhallab. Muḥammad quoted the proverb:

> "They lost me, and a precious thing they lost,
> For a day of adversity and frontier defence."

The people of al-Hind mourned the loss of Muḥammad, and set up a portrait of him in al-Kîraj; but Ṣâliḥ imprisoned him in Wâṣit. And Muḥammad said:

> "Though I am imprisoned in Wâṣit and its land
> In bonds of iron, twisted hard;
> Yet many a youth of Persia have I fought,
> And many a brave have I left slain."

And again he said:

> "'Twere easy, had I but made a stand, for me to mount;
> Mares as well as horses were ready for battle.
> And the horsemen of the Saksakites would not have entered our land;
> There would not have been an Akkite to rule over me;
> I should not have been at the mercy of a liveried slave.
> Alas for thee, O Time, careless of the noble."

Muḥammad put to death. Ṣâliḥ tortured him and others of the family of abu-'Uḳail to death. Al-Ḥajjâj [2] had put

[1] Enemy of Muḥammad ibn-Ḳâsim.

[2] Cousin of Muḥammad ibn-Ḳâsim.

to death Ṣâliḥ's brother, Adam, who shared the opinions of the heretics.

Ḥamzah ibn-Baiḍ al-Ḥanafi says:

"Gratitude, forgiveness, and generosity
Were virtues of Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim ibn-Muḥammad.
He commanded armies at the age of seventeen.
How near this task was to his birth."

Another version is:

"He commanded men at the age of seventeen.
His contemporaries were busied with other matters.

Ḥabîb succeeds Yazîd. Yazîd ibn-abu-Kabashah died eighteen days after he arrived in the land of as-Ṣind, and Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik commissioned Ḥabîb ibn-al-Muhallab to wage the as-Sind campaign, and he set out thither. The kings of al-Hind had come back to their kingdoms, and Dâhir's son, Ḥullîshah,[1] had come back to Brahmanâbâdh. Ḥabîb stationed himself upon the banks of the Mihrân. The people of ar-Rûr submitted to him, and he fought and defeated a certain tribe.

The kings of as-Sind become Moslems. Then Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik died, and after him came the caliphate of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz. He wrote to the kings, inviting them to become Moslems and be subject to him, agreeing to let them continue on their thrones, and have the same privileges and obligations as the Moslems. An account of his mode of life and how he practiced his religion had already reached them. Ḥullîshah accepted Islâm, and so did the other kings, and they adopted Arab names.

'Umar's agent. 'Amr ibn-Muslim al-Bâhili was 'Umar's lieutenant over this frontier. He conducted some successful raids into al-Hind. 442

[1] This name lacks diacritical points in the text. See De Goeje, p. 441, note *e*, and compare Elliot, *Hist of India*, vol. i, p. 124, note 2.

Al-Muhallab's sons. The sons of al-Muhallab[1] fled to as-Sind in the days of Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, who sent against them Hilâl ibn-Aḥwaz at-Tamîmi. The latter fought with them, and killed Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab at Ḳandâbîl. The rest of al-Muhallab's sons, al-Mufaḍḍal, 'Abd-al-Malik, Ziyâd, Marwân, and Mu'âwiyah, he also killed. Last of all he killed Mu'âwiyah ibn-Yazîd.

Al-Junaid becomes governor. Al-Junaid ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân al-Murri governed the frontier of as-Sind for 'Umar ibn-Hubairah al-Fazâri. Then Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al Malik appointed him to rule over it, and when Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḳasri went to al-'Irâḳ, Hishâm sent orders to al-Junaid to correspond with him. So al-Junaid went to ad-Daibul; next he encamped on the Mihrân, but Ḥullîshah prevented his crossing the river, sending to him this message, "I have accepted Islâm, and an honest man[2] appointed me to rule my country. But I have no faith in thee."

Ḥullîshah apostatizes. They exchanged pledges in regard to the matter of the *kharâj* due upon his country. Later they both sent back the pledges, and Ḥullîshah apostatized and declared war. (Others say that he did not begin the hostilities, but that al-Junaid attacked him.) He went to al-Hind, collected forces, seized the boats, and prepared for war.

Defeated and killed. Al-Junaid sailed to meet him, and they joined battle at Batîḥat[3]-ash-Sharḳi. Ḥullîshah was taken prisoner, his ship having missed the way. He was put to death, and Dâhir's son, Ṣiṣah, tried to flee with the intention of proceeding to al-'Irâḳ and complaining of al-Junaid's treachery. The latter, however, cajoled him until he got him into his power, and then killed him.

[1] For this revolt see Mas'ûdi, vol. i, 461 *et seq.*

[2] 'Umar II.

[3] Swamp.

Al-Kîraj. Al-Junaid raided al-Kiraj, which had broken the covenant. He constructed battering rams and with them beat the walls of the city until he broke them down, and entered the city by force, killing, enslaving, and plundering.

He sent lieutenants against Mirmad, al-Mandal, Dahnaj,[1] and Barwaṣ.

Al-Junaid used to say, "It is better to die fighting boldly than to die with resignation."

Other campaigns. Al-Junaid sent an army to Uzain,[2] and sent Ḥabîb ibn-Murrah with an army to the land of al-Mâlibah.[3] They waged a war with Uzain, raided Bahrîmad,[4] and set fire to its suburbs. Al-Junaid conquered al-Bailamân and al-Jurz.[5] There remained in his camp, over and above what he gave to his friends, 40,000,000 dirhams, and he turned in [to the caliph] an equal amount. 443

Jarîr says:

"The guests and friends of al-Junaid came
With smiling faces brightened by his gifts."

Abu-l-Juwairiyah says:

"Were it possible to sit above the sun for generosity,
Some would sit there for their virtues or nobility,
Envied for their generous natures,
May God never refuse them his bounties which they desire.

Tamîm succeeds al-Junaid. Next after al-Junaid, Tamîm ibn-Zaid al-'Utbi was ruler. He had a weak constitution, and fell sick and died near ad-Daibul, at a spring called

[1] For these names *cf.* Elliot, *op. cit.* p. 390 and DeGoeje's notes p. 442.

[2] Most of these places have not been identified. See Elliot, pp. 441-442.

[3] Malabar.

[4] Not identified.

[5] Elliot, pp. 358-359.

"the water of the buffaloes". It is called "the water of the buffaloes" only because they take refuge in it from some blue flies which are on the banks of the Mihrân.

Generosity of Tamîm. Tamîm was one of the most generous of the Arabs. He found in the treasury in as-Sind 18,000,000 dirhams in coin,[1] which he made quick work of. There had accompanied him in his army a youth of the banu-Yarbû', called Khunais, as far as al-Hind. His mother was of the Ṭai'. She went to al-Farazdak[2] and asked him to write to Tamîm to send him back, invoking the grave of his father, Ghâlib. Al-Farazdaḳ wrote to Tamîm:

"O Tamîm, a woman came to me asking in the name of Ghâlib,
 And his dust-covered grave.
So give me Khunais and win thereby my gratitude.
 For the love of a mother whose drink is not swallowed in comfort,
Tamîm ibn-Zaid, put not off my request,
 And be not averse to answer her.
Delay not in what I ask you for, because
 I grow impatient when men delay in gratifying me."[3]

Tamîm could not make out what the youth's name was, whether Ḥubaish or Khunais,[4] so he gave orders that every man whose name was similar in form to these letters should go back.

In the days of Tamîm, the Moslems withdrew from the land of al-Hind, and abandoned their headquarters, and they have not returned so far as that since. 444

A city of refuge. Afterwards, while al-Ḥakam ibn-'Awânah al-Kalbi was ruler, the people of al-Hind apostatized, with the exception of the inhabitants of Ḳaṣṣah. A

[1] *Ṭâṭarîyah,* de Goeje, Glossary, p. 63, says "*moneta Indica.*" Elliot translates simply "Tatar dirhams."

[2] The poet. His complete *Dîwân* has been published by Hell.

[3] These verses with some variants are found also in ibn-Khallikân.

[4] The diacritical points not yet being in use.

place of refuge to which the Moslems might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake (*al-Buḥairah*), where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Maḥfûṭhah, establishing it as a place of refuge for them where they would be secure, and making it a capital. He said to the *sheikhs* of the tribe of Kalb of the people of Syria, "What do you think we should name it?" Some of them said, "Damascus." Another said, "Ḥams." And another said, "Name it Tadmur." But al-Ḥakam said, "May God destroy[1] thee, O fool. I shall name it al-Maḥfûṭhah."[2] He himself settled in it.

Al-Manṣûrah built. 'Amr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim accompanied al-Ḥakam, who used to rely upon him and leave to his discretion the most important business and affairs. He sent him on a raid from al-Maḥfûṭhah, and upon his triumphant return,[3] he built on this side of the lake a city which he called al-Manṣûrah. It is where the governors reside today.

Al-Ḥakam's success. Al-Ḥakam won back from the hands of the enemy all that they had conquered from him. The people were pleased with his administration, and Khâlid used to say, "How wonderful! I appointed a generous Arab (meaning Tamîm), and he was unpopular. I appointed the stingiest man alive, and he was quite acceptable."

Al-Ḥakam was killed there later, and afterwards the governors kept fighting the enemy and seizing whatever came into their hands, and subduing the neighborhoods whose inhabitants rebelled.

[1] He makes a pun on Tadmur (Palmyra) with the root *damara*.

[2] "The Well-Guarded."

[3] Lit. "When he returned, and he had accomplished his task". For *amrahu* = his task, Reinaud reads *ammarahu* = he made him an *amîr*.

CHAPTER IV

UNDER THE ABBÂSIDES

Mughallis governor of as-Sind. When first the Blessed Dynasty[1] came into power, abu-Muslim 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Muslim appointed Mughallis al-'Abdi governor of the frontier of as-Sind. He went by way of Ṭukhâristân[2] and advanced until he came upon Manṣûr ibn-Jamhûr al-Kalbi, who was in as-Sind. Manṣûr met him in battle, killed him, routed his army.

Mûsa ibn-Ka'b succeeds him. When the news of this came to abu-Muslim, he entrusted the matter to Mûsa ibn-Ka'b at-Tamîmi and sent him to as-Sind. When he arrived there, between him and Manṣûr ibn-Jamhûr was the Mihrân. Presently they joined battle, and he put to rout Manṣûr and his forces, killing Manṭhûr, his brother. Manṣûr made his escape, fleeing until he reached the desert, and perished of thirst. Mûsa governed as-Sind, restored al-Manṣûrah and enlarged its mosque, and conducted successful campaigns.

Hishâm ibn-'Amr becomes governor. Al-Manṣûr, the Commander of the Believers, appointed Ḥishâm ibn-'Amr at-Taghlibi governor of as-Sind. He conquered what was left unsubdued and sent 'Amr ibn-Jamal with a fleet to Nârind.[3] He also went to the regions of al-Hind and con- 445

[1] I. e. the Abbâsides.

[2] See *supra*, p. 165, note 3.

[3] Not identified.

quered Ḳashmîr,[1] obtaining many prisoners and slaves. He conquered al-Multân and cleared out a faction of Arabs which was in Ḳandâbîl. He went to al-Ḳunduhâr with the fleet, and conquered it, throwing down the *Budd* and building a mosque in its place. The land prospered in his administration, and his name was blessed.[2] He maintained peace along the frontier, and kept its affairs in order.

Other governors. Afterwards the frontier of as-Sind was governed by 'Umar ibn-Ḥafṣ ibn-'Uthmân Hazârmard. Then by Dâ'ûd ibn-Yazîd ibn-Ḥâtim, with whom was associated abu-ṣ-Ṣammah, a freedman of Kindah, who holds the office now.

Bâlah, king of ash-Sharḳi. Conditions along the frontier continued quiet until Bishr ibn-Da'ûd became ruler over it in the caliphate of al-Ma'mûn. Bishr refused to obey orders, and the caliph sent to him Ghassân ibn-'Abbâd, a native of Sawâd of al-Kûfah. Bishr met him, on the assurance of a safe-conduct, and returned with him to Madînat-as-Salâm.[3] Ghassân left as his lieutenant over the frontier Mûsa ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Khâlid ibn-Barmak. The latter killed Bâlah, king of ash-Sharḳi, although the latter had offered him 600,000 dirhams on condition that he spare him. This Bâlah had tried to intrigue with Ghassân and had written to him in the presence of his army and through the princes who accompanied him, but Mûsa refused him.

Mûsa succeeded by his son. Mûsa lived an upright life, and died in the year 221,[4] leaving to succeed him his son, 'Imrân ibn-Mûsa. To him al-Mu'taṣim-billâh, the Commander of the Believers, wrote in regard to governing the frontier. He made an expedition against the Ḳîḳânites,

[1] Sometimes pointed Ḳishmîr. Yâḳût.

[2] I. e. the people were happy under him.

[3] Bagdad.

[4] The text has 21, a clerical error.

who are Zuṭṭ, fighting and defeating them, and building a city which he called al-Baiḍâ', where he established his army. Then he went to al-Manṣûrah, and thence to Ḳandâbîl. The latter is a city on a mountain, and the man who was the actual ruler of it was named Muḥammad ibn-al-Khalîl. 'Imrân fought him and conquered the city and took its chief men to Ḳaṣdâr. Then he raided the Mîd, killing 3,000 of them. He built a highway know as the highway of the Mîd. The camp of 'Imrân was upon the river of ar-Rûr. Then he summoned the Zuṭṭ who were in his neighborhood. They came to him, and he sealed their hands,[1] collecting from them the *jizyah,* and giving them the order that each 446 of them should bring a dog with him when he presented himself. The price of a dog rose to 50 dirhams.[2] Later he raided the Mîd, with the assistance of the chiefs of the Zuṭṭ. He dug a canal from the sea, which he ran into their fresh water until their water became salty, and [then] he started to attack them. Then strife arose between the Nizârites [3] and the Yemenites, and 'Imrân favored the latter. 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz al-Ḥabbâri went out against him, and killed him by surprise. This 'Umar's grandfather was among those who went to as-Sind with al-Ḥakam ibn-'Awânah al-Kalbi.

Sindân. Manṣûr ibn-Ḥâtim says that al-Faḍl ibn-Mâhân, a freedman of the banu-Sâmah, conquered and subdued Sindân.[4] He sent to al-Ma'mûn an elephant, corresponded with the caliph and invoked the blessing upon him in a cathedral mosque which he had erected there. When

[1] By branding or tattooing. *Cf. infra,* p. 266, note 1 and De Goeje, Glossary, pp. 33-34.

[2] Reinaud suggests that the intention may have been to diminish the number of dogs.

[3] Reinaud, *Jour. As.* p. 189, note 2.

[4] Reinaud, *Jour. As.* p. 190, note 2.

he died he was succeeded by Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl ibn-Mâhân, who made an expedition with a fleet of 70 ships of war against the Mîd of al-Hind. He killed many of them, and conquered Fâli,[1] and returned to Sindân. A brother of his, named Mâhân ibn-al-Faḍl, had made himself master of that city and had written to the Commander of the Believers, al-Mu'taṣim-billâh, presenting him with a turban,[2] the like of which in size and length had not been seen. But the Hindus were under the sway of his brother, and they turned against Mâhân, killed him and crucified him. Then later the Hindus got control of Sindân, but they left its mosque for the Moslems to assemble in and pray for the caliph.

The king of al-'Usaifân. Abu-Bakr, a freedman of the Kuraizi, told me that a country called al-'Usaifân, between Ḳashmîr, al-Multân and Kâbul, had a wise king. The people of the country used to worship an idol over which a house was built. They were assembled in this temple one day when the son of the king fell sick. The king summoned the priests of the temple and said to them, "Pray to the idol that my son may recover." They withdrew from him for the space of an hour. Then they came to him and said, "We have asked him and he has answered our request." But the boy soon after died, and king fell upon the house and had it razed to the ground; the idol he smashed to pieces, and the priests were put to death. Then he summoned some Moslem merchants, who explained to him the doctrine of the unity of God. He acknowledged the unity and became a Moslem. This was in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mu'taṣim-billâh.

[1] So pointed in the Cairo edition. De Goeje suggests Ḳallari. See Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

[2] Ar. *sâj*.

PART XXI
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CONCERNING THE LAWS OF KHARÂJ[1] LANDS

Bishr ibn-Ghiyâth from abu-Yûsuf:—Only land which was taken by assault, such as as-Sawâd, ash-Sha'm, and others, [is subject to the *kharâj*]. If the leader divided it among those who conquered it, it is tithe-land, and its inhabitants slaves; if the leader did not divide it, but turned it over to the Moslems as a whole, as 'Umar did with as-Sawâd, then its people sustain the burden of the *jizyah,* and the land is subject to the *kharâj,* but the people are not slaves. This is the dictum of abu-Ḥanîfah [also]. 447

Al-Wâḳidi, on the authority of Sufyân ath-Thauri, makes the same statement. Al-Wâḳidi [further] quotes Mâlik ibn-Anas and ibn-abu-Dhi'b, who says:—When an unbeliever from the people of "assault" accepted Islâm, his land was confirmed in his possession for him to cultivate, paying the *kharâj* for it, just as other Moslems.

Mâlik, ibn-abu-Dhi'b, Sufyân ath-Thauri, and ibn-abu-Laila say in regard to one of the people "of assault" who accepts Islâm:—The *kharâj* is upon the land and, in addition to the *kharâj,* the *zakât* (alms tax) of the crop. This is [also] the dictum of al-Auzâ'i.

Abu-Ḥanîfah and his school say:—A man is not liable for both *kharâj* and *zakât.*

[1] For *kharâj* and *jizyah* and the financial system in general of the Arab State, see von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients,* pp. 59-65, 256-379; Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes,* pp. 344 *et seq.,* and the literature mentioned there. Many items in regard to taxation may be gleaned from Balâdhuri, particularly in vol. i.

Mâlik, ibn-abu-Dhi'b, Sufyân, and abu-Ḥanîfah say:—If a man sow his land, being *kharâj*-land, [several] times in a year, only a single *kharâj* was collected from him.

Ibn-abu-Laila says:—The *kharâj* is collected from him as often as a crop ripens for him. And this is [also] the dictum of ibn-abu-Sabrah and abu-Shimr.

Abu-z-Zinâd, Mâlik, abu-Ḥanîfah, Sufyân, Ya'ḳûb, ibn-abu-Laila, ibn-abu-Sabrah, Zafr, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan, and Bishr ibn-Ghiyâth say:—If a man leaves his land fallow, he is told to 'cultivate it and pay its *kharâj*, or else give it to some one else to cultivate.' In the case of tithe-land, nothing is said to him about it. The *ṣadakah* is collected from him whether he sow or not. Allah knows best.

The same authorities say:—If a man leaves his land fallow two years, and then cultivates it, he pays a single *kharâj*. But abu-Shimr says:—He pays *kharâj* for the two years.

Abu-Ḥanîfah, Sufyân, Mâlik, ibn-abu-Dhi'b, and abu-'Amr al-Auzâ'i say:—If insects or flood destroy the crops, the *kharâj* is not collected from the owner. 448

If it is a portion of *kharâj*-land belonging to a slave or a school or a woman, then, according to abu-Ḥanîfah, the *kharâj* alone is assessed against it.

Sufyân, ibn-abu-Dhi'b, and Mâlik say:—The *kharâj* is assessed against it, and the tithe against the remainder of the crop.

Abu-Ḥanîfah and ath-Thauri say in regard to *kharâj*-land:—If a Moslem or a *dhimmi* builds a building on it for shops or other such purposes, there is no tax on it; but if he makes it a garden, *kharâj* is due.

Mâlik and ibn-abu-Dhi'b say:—We think he owes the *kharâj* if he gets an income from the building, just as if he got an income from sowing. But if it is tithe-land, Allah knows best what is collected from it.

Abu-Yûsuf says concerning unoccupied ground forming

part of a land "of assault":—If a Moslem reclaims it, it is his, and is subject to *kharâj* if it is watered with water [from land subject to] *kharâj*; but if he constructs a well for it, or waters it with water from the heavens, then it is tithe-land.

Bishr says:—It is tithe-land whether watered with water [from land subject to] *kharâj* or otherwise.

Abu-Ḥanîfah, ath-Thauri, and their school, and Mâlik, ibn-abu-Dhi'b, and al-Laila ibn-Sa'd say in regard to *kharâj*-land which has no owner:—If the Moslems live on it, and transact business, and use it as a market place, no *kharâj* is assessed against them for it.

Abu-Yûsuf says:—If there is in the land a foreign custom of long standing, which the Moslems have not changed or abrogated, and some one complains of it to the leader [i. e. the caliph] because of the damage it causes them, it is not possible for him to change it.

Mâlik and ash-Shâfi'i say:—He may change it even it it is ancient, because it is in his power to disacknowledge any custom whatever which any of the Moslams have made, as well as those which unbelievers have made.

APPENDIX II

HISTORY OF THE 'ATÂ'[1] IN THE CALIPHATE OF 'UMAR IBN-AL-KHATTÂB

Order of precedence. 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ ibn-Muslim al-'Ijli from Ismâ'îl ibn-al-Mujâlid from his father, Mujâlid ibn-Sa'îd, from ash-Sha'bi, who says:—When 'Umar conquered al-'Irâḳ and Syria and collected the *kharâj*, he called together the Companions of the Apostle of Allah, and said, "I have decided to make allotments of the *'aṭâ'* to his people." They said, "Surely, thou hast decided aright, O Commander of the Believers." "With whom then shall I begin?" he asked. They replied, "With thyself." He said, "No, but I will put myself where Allah has put me, and will begin with the family of the Apostle of Allah." And he did so. 449

He assigned to 'Â'ishah, the Mother of the Believers, 12,000 dirhams, and to the rest of the wives of the Prophet 10,000. To 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib he assigned 5,000, and the same amount to those of the banu-Hâshim who had taken part at the battle of Badr.

'Abd-al-A'la ibn-Ḥammâd an-Narsi from Ḥammâd ibn-Salamah from al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Arṭâh from Ḥabîb ibn-abu-Thâbit:—The wives of the Prophet followed one another in succession with regard to the *'aṭâ'*.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from 'Â'idh ibn-Yaḥya from abu-l-Ḥuwairith from Jubair ibn-al-Ḥuwairith ibn-Nuḳaidh:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb asked the advice of

[1] I. e. the pension system. *Cf.* von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients* pp. 67-70; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islâm,* 17:43, 20:341 note 2.

the Moslems concerning the institution of the Register [*dîwân*]. 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib said to him, "Divide each year whatever wealth has been accumulated by thee, without holding back any of it." 'Uthmân said, "I see wealth in plenty, sufficing for everybody; but if a record is not kept so that he who receives is known from him who has not received, I think the matter will become complicated." Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm ibn-al-Mughîrah said to 'Umar, "I have been in Syria and observed that the kings thereof kept a register and enrolled the troops. So start a register and enroll the troops."

'Umar followed his suggestion, and summoned 'Aḳîl ibn-abu-Ṭâlib, Makhramah ibn-Naufal, and Jubair ibn-Muṭ'im, who were of the tongue of Ḳuraish, and said, "Write a list of the people acording to their ranks [*manâzil*]." They accordingly began with the banu-Hâshim, putting next to them abu-Bakr and his family, then 'Umar and his family, following the order of the caliphate. But when 'Umar learned of this, he said, "By Allah, I would it were so; but begin with the relatives of the Prophet, the nearest first, and so on, thus putting 'Umar where Allah has put him."

Muḥammad from al-Wâḳidi from Usâmah ibn-Zaid ibn-Aslam from his father from his grandfather, who said:—The banu-'Adi went to 'Umar and said, "Thou art the Successor [Caliph] of the Apostle of Allah, and the Successor of abu-Bakr, and abu-Bakr was the Successor of the Apostle of Allah, and dost thou really put thyself where these clerks have put thee?" He answered them, "Bravo! O banu-'Adi! Ye desire to eat at my back, and have me show favors to you. No, by Allah! Not until your turn comes, even though the book be closed upon you. (He means 'even though ye be the last enrolled'.) I have had two companions who have traveled a [straight] road. I must not disregard them, lest I too be disregarded. By 450

Allah, we shall not be pardoned in this world, nor can we hope for a reward for our works, except through Muḥammad; for he is foremost of us, and his family are the foremost of the Arabs; then the nearest related to them, and so forth. Verily, by Allah, if foreigners come with good works, and we [Arabs] come without good works, they shall be nearer to Muḥammad than we in the day of resurrection, for he whose good works are deficient, will get no help from his lineage."

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from Muḥammad ibn-'Abdallâh from az-Zuhri from Sa'îd from some others whom al-Wâḳidi names and whose traditions are interwoven:—When 'Umar called the assembly for the purpose of instituting the Register [*diwân*], which was in the month Muḥarram of the year 20, he began enrolling with the banu-Hâshim, then the nearest related to the Apostle of Allah, and so forth. If any were equal in their relationship, he put first those of priority of conversion. Next he came to the Companions [*Anṣâr*], and was asked, "With whom shall we begin?" He replied, "Begin with the family of Sa'd ibn-Mu'âdh al-Ashhali of the Aus, then those nearest related to Sa'd, and so forth."

Size of the allotments. 'Umar assigned pensions to those enrolled, favoring in size of allotments those who were converted first, and those who had taken part in the battles, although abu-Bakr had divided equally among the people. Some one spoke to 'Umar about this, and he said, "I can not put those who fought against the Apostle of Allah in the same class with those who fought for him." So he began with those of the Emigrants and of the Companions who had taken part at Badr, assigning to each one of them 5,000 dirhams per year, and putting their clients [*ḥalîf*] and freedmen [*mawâli*] on an equality with them. He assigned to those who were converted to Islâm as early as the

veterans of Badr, to those who emigrated to Abyssinia, and to those who fought at Uhud, 4,000 dirhams each. To the sons of the veterans of Badr he assigned 2,000 each, with the exception of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, for their pension he made equal to that of their father, because of their close relationship to the Apostle of Allah, assigning to each of them 5,000 dirhams. To al-'Abbâs ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib he assigned 5,000, because of his close relationship to the Apostle of Allah. Some say that he asigned 7,000 dirhams to him, but most authorities say that he did not favor anyone more than the men of Badr, except the wives of the Prophet, for to them he assigned 12,000 each, including with them Juwairiyah bint-al-Ḥârith and Ṣafîyah bint-Ḥuyai ibn-Akhṭab. 451

He assigned to those who emigrated before the conquest [of Makkah] 3,000 apiece, and to those converted at the conquest 2,000 apiece, and to the young men of military age among the sons of the Emigrants like pensions with the converts of the conquest. To 'Umar ibn-abu-Salimah he assigned 4,000. Muḥammad ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Jaḥsh said, "Why dost thou favor 'Umar more than us, in view of the fact that our fathers were Emigrants and took part at Badr?" The caliph replied, "I favor him because of his position with reference to the Prophet. Moreover, if anyone with a mother like umm-Salimah asks for help, I will help him."

To Usâmah ibn-Zaid he assigned 4,000. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb said, "Thou assignest to me 3,000, to Usâmah 4,000, although I took part in more battles than Usâmah." 'Umar said, "I have given him more, because he was dearer to the Apostle of Allah than thou, and his father was dearer to the Apostle of Allah than thy father."

Then he made assignments to the people acording to their

ranks [*manâzil*], their reading of the Ḳurân, and their campaigns [*jihâd*]. The remainder of the people he put in a single category, including those Moslems who came to al-Madînah, at 25 *dînârs* apiece, and he made grants to others with them.

To the people of al-Yaman and Ḳais in Syria and in al-'Irâḳ he assigned from 2,000 to 1,000 to 900 to 500 to 300 each, not giving to anyone less than 300 dirhams. For he said, "If money were more abundant, I would assign to each man 4,000 dirhams: 1,000 for his traveling expenses, 1,000 for his weapons, 1,000 to leave for his family, and 1,000 for his horse and his horseshoes."

He assigned pensions to women who had emigrated: to Ṣafîyah bint-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib 6,000 dirhams, to Asmâ' bint-'Umais 1,000 dirhams, to umm-Kulthûm bint-'Uḳbah 1,000 dirhams, and to umm-'Abdallâh ibn-Mas'ûd 1,000 dirhams.

Al-Wâḳidi says there is a tradition that he assigned to the women who emigrated 3,000 dirhams apiece. 452

Al-Wâḳidi with his [usual] *isnâd* says:—Upon orders from 'Umar, the *'âmils* of the people of the uplands of Nejd wrote to him, describing the needs of the people, and he issued to them a pension of food. Later, 'Uthmân, when he was ruler, provided for them an issue of food and clothing.

Pensions for children. 'Umar used to assign to a new-born child 100 dirhams; when it was larger, he raised the amount to 200; and when the child became of age, he increased it [again]. When a foundling was brought, he assigned to it 100, making an allotment for maintenance which the child's guardian received each month in proportion to his needs, and taking constant care of them from year to year, providing for their nursing and expenses from the public treasury.

Khuzâ'ah. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from Ḥizâm ibn-Hishâm al-Ka'bi from his father, who says:—I saw 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb taking the Register [*dîwân*] of Khuzâ'ah as far as Ḳudaid. At Ḳudaid [the tribe] came to him, without a woman, virgin, or even divorced, being absent, and he would pay them personally. Then he would go on to 'Uṣfân and do the same. [He kept this up] until he died.

Ḥimyar. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from abu-Bakr ibn-abu-Sabrah from Muḥammad ibn-Zaid:—The Register of Ḥimyar in the time of 'Umar was kept separately.

The pensions please the army. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from 'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Umar al-'Umari from Jahm ibn-abu-Jahm:—Khâlid ibn-'Urfuṭah al-'Udhri appeared before 'Umar, who inquired of him in regard to conditions in the province which he had [just] left. He answered, "I have left those who were praying to Allah for thee that He would lengthen thy life even at the expense of their own. There rides not a man of the veterans of al-Ḳâdisîyah without a pension of 2,000 or 1,500, and none begets a child, male or female, to which is not assigned 100 [dirhams] and two *jarîbs* per month."

"It is only their due," said 'Umar "and I am the happier for giving it to them. Do not praise me for it, for if it belonged to the property of al-Khaṭṭâb, I would not give it to them. Well do I know that the pensions are rather large; and yet, when the allotment of one of these men is issued, he buys with it a beast and adds to his property, and when his allotment is issued a second time, he buys a head or two [more] and puts that in. As a consequence if he has a child who servives him, he will have something to depend upon. For I do not know what shall be after me, but, verily, I will give my counsel to whoever refers his case to

me. For the Apostle of Allah said, 'Whoever dies deceiving his subjects, shall not smell the perfume of Paradise.'" 453

Superabundant funds. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from Muḥammad ibn-'Amr from al-Ḥasan:—'Umar wrote to Ḥudhaifah, 'Give the men their stipends and their rations." He replied to him, "We have done so, and a considerable amount remains." And 'Umar wrote to him, "It is their property, which Allah has given them as booty; it does not belong to 'Umar nor to the family of 'Umar; so divide it among them."

Wahb ibn-Baḳîyah and Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Yazîd ibn-Hârûn from Muḥammad ibn-'Amr from abu-Salimah from abu-Hurairah:—He went to 'Umar from al-Baḥrain. Abu-Hurairah said;—I met him at the time of the evening prayer, and greeted him. He asked me about the people; then he said to me, "What hast thou brought?" I said, "I have brought 500,000." He said, "Dost thou know what thou sayest?" I said, "I have brought 500,000." He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "100,000 and 100,000 and 100,000—and I counted to five." Ḥe said, "Thou art half asleep. Go home and sleep, and come to me in the morning."

"I went to him early in the morning (continues abu-Hurairah) and he said, "What hast thou brought?" I said, "500,000." He said, "Are they good?" I said, "Yes, so far as I know." Then 'Umar said to the people, "A great amount of money has come to us. Do you wish us to count it for you or to weigh it for you?" Some one said to him, "O Commander of the Believers, I have seen these Persians keeping a register [*dîwân*] according to which they pay the men." So 'Umar had a register made and assigned to the Emigrants first 5,000, to the Companions 4,000, and to the wives of the Prophet 12,000.

Zainab bint-Jaḥsh. Yazîd from Muḥammad from ibn-

Khuṣaifah from 'Abdallâh ibn-Râfi' from Barzah bint-Râfi', who says:—When the *'aṭâ'* was paid out, 'Umar sent to Zainab bint-Jaḥsh her share. She said, when it was brought in to her, "Allah be merciful to 'Umar. The rest of my sisters will be better able to divide this than I." They said, "This is all for thee." She said, "God bless me," and covered her face with her cloak, that she might 454 not see it. Then she said, "Empty it out and put a garment over it." Then she said to me, "Put in thy hands and take a handful of it and present it to so-and-so," of her relatives and orphan protegees of hers. So I distributed it until only a small portion remained beneath the garment, (continues Barzah bint-Râfi'). Then I said, "Allah be merciful to thee, O Mother of the Believers. By Allah, verily we ourselves have a right to this money." She said, "You can have what is beneath the garment." And we found beneath it 580 dirhams. Then she raised her hands to the heavens and said, "O God, let no pension come to me from 'Umar after this year." And she died.

Other traditions of the institution of the Register. Abu-'Ubaid from 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Laith from Muḥammad ibn-'Ajlân, who says:—When 'Umar instituted the *dîwân,* he said, "With whom shall we begin?" They replied, "With thyself." He said, "Nay. The Apostle of Allah is our leader. We will begin with his family, then the nearest relatives, and so forth."

'Amr an-Nâḳid from 'Abd-al-Wahhâb ath-Thaḳafi from Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad from his father:—'Umar put al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain on an equality with their father, and assigned to them 5,000 dirhams.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Aswad from Waḳî' from Sufyân ath-Thauri from Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad from his father, who says:—When 'Umar founded the Register, he asked advice of the people as to whom he should begin

with. They said, "Begin with thyself." He said, "No, but I will begin with the nearest relatives of the Apostle of Allah and so forth." And he began with them.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Waḳî' from Sufyân from abu-Isḥâḳ from Muṣ'ab ibn-Sa'd:—'Umar assigned to the men of Badr 6,000 dirhams apiece, to the Mothers of the Believers 10,000 apiece, giving an excess of 2,000 to 'Â'ishah because of the love of the Prophet for her, to Ṣafîyah and Juwairiyah 6,000 apiece, and to the women who emigrated 1,000 apiece. Among the latter was umm-'Abd, the mother of 'Abdallâh ibn-Mas'ûd.

Al-Ḥusain from Waḳî' from Ismâ'îl ibn-abu-Khâlid from Ḳais ibn-abu-Ḥâzim:—'Umar assigned to the men of Badr, both Arabs and *mawâli*, 5,000 each, saying, "Verily, I will favor them above all the rest." 455

Al-Ḥusain from Waḳî' from Isrâ'îl from Jâbir from 'Âmir:—Among those [who received pensions] were five Persians, of whom were Tamîm ad-Dâri and Bilâl. Waḳî' adds that ad-Dâr is part of Lakhm, but ash-Sha'bi states it as above.

Al-Ḥusain from Waḳî' from Sufyân from al-Aswad ibn-Ḳais from one of their *sheikhs*, who says:—I heard 'Umar say, "Verily, if I live till next year, I will bestow upon the humblest of the Emigrants 2,000 each.

Abu-'Ubaid from 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ al-Miṣri from al-Laith ibn-Sa'd from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Khâlid al-Fahmi from ibn-Shihâb:—When 'Umar instituted the Registers, he assigned to the wives of the Prophet whom he had regularly married, 12,000 dirhams each; to Juwairiyah and Ṣafîyah bint-Ḥuyai ibn-Akhtab 6,000 dirhams, because they were part of what Allah gave to his Apostle as booty. He assigned to the Emigrants who took part at Badr 5,000 each; to the Companions who took part at Badr 4,000 each, including in his assignment every pure-blood [*ṣarîḥ*], client

[*halîf*], or freedman [*maula*], who took part at Badr, not favoring one more than another.

'Amr an-Nâḳid and abu-'Ubaid from Aḥmad ibn-Yûnus from abu-Khaithamah from abu-Isḥâḳ from Muṣ'ab ibn-Sa'd:—'Umar assigned to the men of Badr, both Emigrants and Companions, 6,000 apiece; to the wives of the Prophet 10,000 each, but he favored 'Â'ishah above the rest, assigning to her 12,000 dirhams; to Juwairiyah and Ṣafîyah he assigned 6,000 each; and to the first women Emigrants, Asmâ' bint-'Umais, Asmâ' bint-abu-Bakr, and umm-'Abdallâh ibn-Mas'ûd, 1,000 each.

456 Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Waḳi' from Muḥammad ibn-Ḳais al-Asadi from his mother, umm-al-Ḥakam, who says:—'Ali apportioned to her from the '*aṭâ'* 100.

Al-Ḥusain from Wakî' from Sufyân from ash-Shaibâni from Yusair ibn-'Amr:—Sa'd assigned to whoever read the Ḳurân 2,000 dirhams, but 'Umar wrote to him, "Do not give to anyone because of [his reading] the Ḳurân."

Abu-'Ubaid from Sa'îd ibn-abu-Maryam from ibn-Luhai'ah from Yazîd ibn-abu-Ḥabîb:—'Umar gave 200 to 'Amr ibn-al-'Âṣi because he was an *amîr*; to 'Umair ibn-Wahb al-Jumaḥi 200 because of his patience in adversity; to Busr ibn-abu-Arṭâh 200 because he won a victory. Said 'Umar, "Many a victory Allah won by his hand." Abu-'Ubaid says that by the above number *dînârs* are meant.

Abu-'Ubaid from 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Laith ibn-Sa'd from Yazîd ibn-abu-Ḥabîb:—'Umar wrote to 'Amr ibn-al-'Âṣi, "Give to those who swore allegiance under the tree [of al-Ḥudaibiyah] 200 from the *aṭâ'* (meaning *dînârs*), and take the same for thyself because of thy *amîr*-ship, and assign to Khârijah ibn-Ḥudhâfah the maximum '*aṭâ'* because of his bravery."

Abu-'Ubaid from 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Laith ibn-Sa'd from Muḥammad ibn-'Ajlân:—'Umar gave more to

Usâmah ibn-Zaid than to his own son, 'Abdallâh. People kept at 'Abdallâh until he spoke to 'Umar, saying, "Dost thou prefer before me one who is no more worthy than I, by assigning to him 2,000, and to me 1,500 dirhams?" And 'Umar said, "I have done this because Zaid ibn-Ḥârithah was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than 'Umar, and Usâmah was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than 'Abdallâh ibn-'Umar."

Yaḥya ibn-Mu'în from Yaḥya ibn-Sa'îd from Khârijah ibn-Muṣ'ab from 'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Umar from Nâfi' (or some other) from ibn-'Umar, who says that he spoke to his father in regard to his favoring Usâmah above him in the *'aṭâ'*, saying, "By Allah, he does not surpass me in anything." And 'Umar replied. "His father was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than thy father, and he himself was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than thou." 457

Muḥammad ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ al-Bazzâz from Hushaim from Manṣûr from al-Ḥasan:—Some persons appeared before an *'âmil* of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb's, who granted the *'aṭâ'* to the Arabs among them and omitted the *mawâli.* And 'Umar wrote to him, "It is considered an evil thing for a Moslem to despise his brother. Peace be with thee."

Abu-'Ubaid from Khâlid ibn-'Amr from Isrâ'îl from 'Ammâr ad-Duhni from Sâlim ibn-abu-l-Ja'd:—'Umar set the *'aṭâ'* of 'Ammâr ibn-Yâsir at 6,000 dirhams.

Abu-'Ubaid from Khâlid from Isrâ'îl from Ismâ'îl ibn-Sumai' from Muslim al-Baṭîn:—'Umar set the *'aṭâ'* of Salmân at 4,000 dirhams.

Rauḥ ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min from Ya'ḳûb from Ḥammâd from Ḥamîd from Anas:—'Umar assigned to al-Hurmuzân 2,000 from the *'aṭâ.*

Al-'Umari from abu-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân aṭ-Ṭâ'i from al-Mujâlid from ash-Sha'bi:—When 'Umar in the year twenty purposed instituting the *dîwân,* he summoned Makhramah

ibn-Naufal and Jubair ibn-Muṭ'im, and ordered them to enroll the people according to their ranks [*manâzil*]. They wrote [first] the banu-Ḥâshim, putting next abu-Bakr and his family, and 'Umar and his family. But when 'Umar saw the book, he said, "I wish that I belonged thus among the kinfolk of the Apostle of Allah. Begin with the nearest related to him, and so forth; then put 'Umar where Allah has put him." Al-'Abbâs ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib was gratified at this, and said, "Thy relationship has drawn thee."

When 'Umar instituted the *dîwân*, abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb asked, "Is it a *dîwân* like that of the banu-Asfar [Greeks]? If thou assignest pensions to the people, they will eat by the *dîwân* and neglect business." But 'Umar said, "There is no way out of it, for the booty of the Moslems is abundant."

'Umar assigned to the *dihḳân* of Nahr al-Malik, to ibn-an-Nakhîrkhân, to Khâlid and Jamîl, sons of Busbuhra, *dihḳân* of al-Falâlij, to Bistâm ibn-Narsi, *dihḳân* of Bâbil and Khuṭarniyah, to ar-Rufail, *dihḳân* of al-'Âl, to al-Hurmuzân, and to Jufainah al-'Ibâdi, 1,000 dirhams each. 458

Others say that he favored al-Hurmuzân, by assigning to him 2,000.

Abu-'Ubaid from Ismâ'îl ibn-'Ayyâsh from Arṭâh ibn-al-Mundhir from Ḥakîm ibn-'Umair:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to the commander of the armies, "Those of the foreigners [lit. "red-faced"] whom ye have set free, and who have accepted Islâm, put on an equality with your *mawâli* in regard to rights and duties. If they prefer to be a tribe [by themselves], let them, but make them the equals of the *mawâli* with regard to the *'aṭâ'*."

Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr from Baḳîyah from abu-Bakr ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Maryam from his father from abu-'Ubaidah:—Some bedouin asked him to give them rations, but he said, "By Allah, I will not, until I have provided for the city-Arabs."

Abu-'Ubaid from abu-l-Yamân from Ṣafwân ibn-'Amr:—'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz wrote to Yazîd ibn-Ḥuṣain, "Have pensions assigned to the army, and take care of the city-Arabs [thyself]."

Abu-'Ubaid from Sa'îd ibn-abu-Maryam from 'Ubaid-allâh ibn-'Umar al-'Umari from Nâfi' from ibn-'Umar:—'Umar did not give the people of Makkah any *'aṭâ'*, nor require of them any military service [*ba'ath*], and used to say, "They are so-so."

Abu-'Ubaid al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Mahdi from Shu'bah from 'Adi ibn-Thâbit from abu-Ḥâzim from abu-Hurairah:—The Apostle of Allah said, "If anyone leave fresh herbage, it is for us; if he leave money, it is for his heirs."

Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr ad-Dimashḳi from al-Walîd ibn-Muslim from Sulaimân ibn-abu-l-'Âtikah and Kulthûm ibn-Ziyâd from Sulaimân ibn-Ḥabîb:—'Umar apportioned the tithes to the families and children of the soldiers. 'Uthmân and the rulers after him continued this, making them hereditary, heritable by the heirs of the dead who had no *'aṭâ'*. This continued until 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz became caliph. Sulaimân says:—He consulted me about this matter, and I told him thus and so. He denied the right of inheritance, saying, "I will cut it off, and include everyone in the pensions." And I said, "But I fear that thy successors will follow thy lead in cutting off inheritances, and will not follow thee in extending the pensions." He said, "Thou art right." And he left them [as they were]. 459

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ from ibn-Luhai'ah from abu-Ḳabîl:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb used to assign to an infant when he was born ten [dirhams], and when he came to the age of the [regular] pension, it was given to him. When Mu'âwiyah became caliph, he assigned this to every weaned child. But when 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-

Marwân became caliph, he cut this off entirely, except from such as he wished.

'Affân from Yazîd from Yaḥya ibn-al-Mutawakkil from 'Abdallâh ibn-Nâfi' from ibn-'Umar:—At first 'Umar did not give the pension to a child until it was weaned. Later his herald proclaimed, "Do not hasten your children's weaning, for we will give a pension to every child in Islâm."

'Amr an-Nâḳid from Aḥmad ibn-Yûnus from Zubair ibn-Mu'âwiyah from abu-Isḥâḳ who says that his grandfather went to 'Uthmân, who said to him, "How many hast thou in thy family, O *sheikh*?" He replied, "I have such a number." The caliph said, "We have assigned to thee and to thy family a pension of 100 each."

Abu-'Ubaid from Marwân ibn-Shujâ' al-Jazari, who says:—'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz appointed for me when I was weaned a pension of ten *dînârs*.

Ibrâhîm ibn-Muḥammad ash-Shâmi from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Mahdi from Sufyân ath-Thauri from abu-l-Jaḥḥâf from a man of Khuth'am, who says:—A child was born to me, and I brought it to 'Ali, and he fixed its pension at 100 dirhams.

'Amr an-Nâḳid from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Mahdi from Sufyân from 'Abdallâh ibn-Sharîk from Bishr ibn-Ghâlib, who says:—Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Ali ('Amr thinks that perhaps he says al-Ḥasan ibn-'Ali.) was asked, "When does the share of a child become due?" He replied, "When it begins to cry." 460

'Amr an-Nâḳid from Sufyân ibn-'Uyainah from 'Amr ibn-Dînâr from al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad:—Three slaves of the banu-'Affân took part at Badr, and 'Umar gave them each 3,000 dirhams yearly.

Abu-'Ubaid from ibn-abu-'Adi from Sufyân from Zuhair ibn-Thâbit or ibn-abu-Dhi'b from Dhuhl ibn-Aus:—A founding was brought to 'Ali, and he fixed its stipend at 100.

How 'Umar determined the amount of rations. 'Amr and al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Aḥmad ibn-Yûnus from Zuhair; and 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ al-Muḳri from Zuhair ibn-Mu'âwiyah from abu-Isḥâḳ from Ḥârithah ibn-al-Muḍarrib:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb ordered a *jarîb* of meal to be brought and kneaded and baked and dipped in oil. Then he summoned thirty men and had them breakfast upon it to repletion. He did the same with the evening meal. And he declared, "Two *jarîbs* a months will suffice a man." In consequence he used to apportion to the people, man, woman, or slave, two *jarîbs* every month.

'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ adds that people used to make imprecations by saying, "Allah take away thy two *jarîbs*." I. e. "May he cut them off from thee by death." This has continued in popular speech unto this day.

Abu-'Ubaid from abu-l-Yamân from Ṣafwân ibn-'Amr from abu-z-Zâhirîyah:—Abu-d-Dardâ' said, 'Many fine and proper customs were introduced by 'Umar among the people of Muḥammad, among them the two *mudi* and the two *ḳisṭ*." [1]

Abu-'Ubaid from Ṣa'îd ibn-abu-Maryam from ibn-Luhai'ah from Ḳais ibn-Râfi', who heard Sufyân ibn-Wahb say:—'Umar said, taking the *mudi* in one hand and the *ḳisṭ* in the other, "I have assigned to every Moslem each month two *mudi* of bread and two *ḳisṭ* of oil and two *ḳisṭ* of vinegar." Ṣome one said, "The slaves also?" He replied, "Yes, also the slaves."

Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr from Yaḥya ibn-Ḥamzah from Tamîm ibn-'Aṭîyah from 'Abdallâh ibn-Ḳais:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb ascended the *minbar* and thanked Allah and praised Him; then he said, "We have granted to you your pensions ['*aṭâ'*] and your rations [*arzâḳ*] every month." 461

[1] From the Greek ξέστης

In his hands were the *mudi* and the *ḳisṭ*, which he moved about, saying, "Whoever diminishes them, may Allah do to him thus and so" (uttering a curse).

. *Inheritance of pensions.* Abu-'Ubaid from ibn-abu-Zâ'idah from Ma'ḳil ibn-'Ubaidallâh from 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz:—When a man to whom the *'aṭâ'* was due, died, ['Umar] granted it to his heirs.

'Affân and Khalaf al-Bazzâr and Wahb ibn-Baḳîyah from Yazîd ibn-Hârûn from Ismâ'îl ibn-abu-Khâlid from Ḳais ibn-abu-Ḥâzim:—Az-Zubair ibn-al-'Awwâm said to 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân after the death of 'Abdallâh ibn-Mas'ûd, "Give me 'Abdallâh's *'aṭâ'*, for his family is more deserving of it than the public treasury. And he gave him 15,000 [dirhams].

Yazîd from Ismâ'îl:—Az-Zubair was the adopted heir of ibn-Mas'ûd.

Ibn-abu-Shaibah from 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Mûsa from 'Ali ibn-Ṣâliḥ ibn-Ḥayy from Simâk ibn-Ḥarb:—A man in the tribe [*ḥayy*] died after eight months of the year had passed, and 'Umar granted him two-thirds of his pay.

APPENDIX III

The Seal

Muḥammad has a seal made. 'Affân ibn-Muslim from Shu'bah from Ḳatâdah, who says that he heard Anas ibn-Mâlik say:—When the Apostle of Allah was about to write to the king of the Greeks [ar-Rûm], some one said to him that they would not read the letter unless it was sealed. So he had a silver ring made,—I can almost see its whiteness upon his hand—and he had engraved upon it "*Muḥammad, the Apostle of Allah.*"

Its material. Abu-r-Rabî' Sulaimân ibn-Dâ'ûd az-Zuhrâni from Ḥammâd ibn-Zaid from Ayyûb from Nâfi' from 'Umar:—The Apostle of Allah had made for himself a ring of silver and put its seal in the inside of his hand. 462

Muḥammad ibn-Ḥayyân al-Ḥayyâni from Zuhair from Ḥumaid from Anas ibn-Mâlik:—The ring of the Apostle of Allah was all of silver and its seal was of silver [also].

'Amr an-Nâḳid from Yazîd ibn-Hârûn from Ḥumaid from al-Ḥasan:—The ring of the Apostle of Allah was of silver and its seal was Abyssinian stone.[1]

Hudbah ibn-Khâlid from Hammâm ibn-Yaḥya from 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-Ṣuhaib from Anas ibn-Mâlik:—The Prophet said, "I have made a ring, and no one shall imitate its engraving."

[1] Ar. *ḥabashi*. Lisân al-'arab, *s. v.* says "According to tradition the seal ring of the Prophet had in it an Abyssinian stone." Ibn-al-Athir says, 'It is possible that it was made of onyx [*jiz'*] or carnelian ['*aḳîḳ*] because the source of these two is Yemen and Abyssinia, or of some other stone called Abyssinian.'"

The original seal-ring lost by 'Uthmân. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from 'Abd-ar-Ruzzâk from Ma'mar from az-Zuhri and Katâdah, who say:—The Apostle of Allah made a ring of silver and engraved upon it "*Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah.*" Abu-Bakr used to seal with it; then 'Umar; then 'Uthmân. The last named had it on his hand [one day], and it fell from his hand into a well. The well was emptied, but the ring could not be found. This was in the middle of his caliphate. He had another ring made and engraved upon it in three lines "*Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah.*" (Katâdah adds, "and a hole.")

The seal counterfeited. Hannâd from al-Aswad ibn-Shaibân, who says:—Khâlid ibn-Sumair told us:—A man called Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah counterfeited the seal of the caliphate and obtained money from the *kharâj* of al-Kûfah in the time of 'Umar. This came to the knowledge of 'Umar, who wrote to al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah, saying, "It has come to my knowledge that a man called Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah has counterfeited the seal of the caliphate and thereby obtained money from the *kharâj* of al-Kûfah. When this my letter reaches thee, do to him what I order, and obey my messenger." When al-Mughîrah finished the evening devotions, and the people had seated themselves, he went out, accompanied by 'Umar's messenger. The people observed him closely until he put Ma'n under arrest. Then he said to the messenger, "The Commander of the Believers bade me obey the order that thou bringest. So order what thou wilt." And the messenger said, "Get me a tie that I may put it on his neck." A necktie was brought to him, and he put it on the prisoner's neck and twisted it tightly. Then 463 he said to al-Mughîrah, "Put him in prison until the order of the Commander of the Believers concerning him comes to thee." And he did so.

Ma'n escapes. The prison at this time was of reeds, and

Ma'n schemed to escape, sending the following message to his family, "Send me my camel and my servant and my cotton overcoat." They did so, and he escaped at night and had his servant follow, traveling until he feared the dawn would disclose him. He made his camel kneel and tied her, and hid himself until the search for him was given up. When night came, he put the blanket back over his camel and strapped it on, and had his servant follow [on foot]. Then he traveled until he appeared before 'Umar while the latter, whip in hand, was arousing the worshippers to morning prayer. Leaving his camel and servant apart, Ma'n approached 'Umar and said, "Peace be upon thee, O Commander of the Believers, and the mercy of Allah and His blessing." 'Umar replied, "And upon thee. Who art thou?" He said, "Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah. I have come to thee as a penitent." 'Umar said, "Woe to thee! Allah will shorten thy life." And when he had completed the morning devotions, he said to the people, "Keep your places." When the sun rose, he said, "This Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah has counterfeited the seal of the caliphate and thereby obtained money from the *kharâj* of al-Kûfah. What say ye in regard to him?" One said, "Cut off his hand;" another said, "Crucify him." 'Ali was silent, and 'Umar said to him, "Abu-l-Ḥasan, what sayest thou?" 'Ali replied, "O Commander of the Believers, a man who tells a lie is punished by flogging." So 'Umar had him severely beaten and imprisoned.

Ma'n appeals for release. He was in the prison a long time. Then he appealed to a friend of his, one of the Ḳuraish, [saying], "Speak a word to the Commander of the Believers in regard to setting me free." The Ḳuraishi spoke to 'Umar, saying, "O Commander of the Believers, Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah has been punished by thee as he deserved. Dost thou not think thou shouldest set him free?" 'Umar

replied, "Thou remindest me of a crime which I had forgotten. Bring Ma'n to me." He had him flogged again; then he ordered him back to prison. And Ma'n sent [this message] to every one of his friends, "Do not mention me to the Commander of the Believers."

He remained in prison a while longer; then 'Umar remembered him and said, "Bring Ma'n to me." He was brought to him, and the caliph gave him a present and set him free.

The seals of the Persian Kings. Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Yashkari and abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ'ini from ibn-Jâbân from ibn-al-Mukaffa', who says:—When the king of Persia issued a command, the endorsement [1] secretary endorsed [2] it in his presence. The secretary had a servant who used to keep the record of it on a memorandum, which [memoranda] were collected for each month. The king would affix his seal upon it [i. e. the memorandum] and it would be filed. Then the document was transmitted to the Treasurer General [*Ṣâḥib az-Zimân*] (whose duty it was to seal documents) and he would deliver it to the Comptroller [*Ṣâḥib al-'amal*]. The latter would write on it "from the king" and it would be copied carefully [*fi-l-aṣl*]. Then [the letter] would be sent to the Treasurer General who would show it to the king and compare it with what was on the memorandum. Then it would be sealed [by the Treasurer General] in the presence of the king or of his most intimate friend. 464

Al-Madâ'ini from Maslamah ibn-Muḥârib:—Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân was the first Arab to keep a regular system of

[1] Ar. *Tauḳî'a*, the validation of a document, like the modern *visée*.

[2] Ar. *waḳḳa'a*.

account books [1] using a seal in imitation of the custom of the Persians.

Persian royal seals numerous. Mufaḍḍal al-Yashkari from ibn-Jâbân from ibn-al-Mukaffa':—One of the kings of Persia had a privy seal, a seal for despatches,[2] a seal for fiefs, with which he sealed the registers, land concessions, and similar official documents, and a seal for the *kharâj.* It was the duty of the Treasurer General to sign with them, but sometimes one of the intimates of the king was given sole charge of the privy seal and the despatch seal.

Reports written on parchment. Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ'-ini from ibn-Jâbân from ibn-al-Mukaffa':—Reports concerning the revenues used to be read before the king and were written in those days on white sheets of parchment. The tax collector would bring to the king every year attached sheets on which he recorded the total of the taxes which he collected, the amount spent for all expenses, and what the balance in the treasury was. And [the king] would seal and ratify it.

The parchment scented. When Kisra ibn-Hurmuz Abarwîz was ruler, he complained of the odor of these sheets, and commanded that the chief tax recorder should bring his reports to him only on parchment scented with saffron and rose-water, and that the sheets which were brought to him about the revenues and so forth should always be scented. This was done, and when Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân was in charge of the *kharâj* of al-Irâḳ, ibn-al-Muḳaffa', who was his deputy collector in the region of the Tigris [*Dijlah*], (Others say in al-Bihḳubâdh.) brought some money, writing his report on leather scented with saffron. Ṣâliḥ laughed and said, "I did not like to have any- 465

[1] Ar. *dîwân zimâm wakhâtim* seems to be the term for a register kept with vouchers, signatures (or seals), etc.

[2] I. e. messages to envoys and provincial governors.

one else bring me reports." He said this because of his knowledge of the customs of the Persians.

Abu-l-Ḥasan says: — Some learned scribes told me that the registers of Syria were [at first] only of paper, and likewise the letters to the kings of the banu-Umayyah in regard to the revenues, etc. But the Commander of the Believers, al-Manṣûr, when he was ruler, ordered his *wazîr*, abu-Ayyûb al-Mûriyâni, to write the financial reports on sheets of parchment, and to have the sheets scented. His command was carried out accordingly.

APPENDIX IV

THE COINAGE[1]

Weight of the dirham. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Yaḥya ibn-Âdam from al-Ḥasan ibn-Ṣâliḥ:—The dirhams of Persian mintage differed more or less. They used to coin a *mithḳâl* weighing twenty carats [*ḳîrâṭ*] and another coin weighing twelve carats, and another coin of ten carats (i. e. half a *mithḳâl*); but when Allah brought Islâm, and there was need, in order to pay the *zakât*, of making an average, they took twenty carats and twelve carats and ten carats; they found this [to amount to] forty-two carats. And so they made a coin weighing the third of this, i. e. fourteen carats. [Consequently] the Arab dirham weighs fourteen carats of the carats of the gold[2] *dînâr*, the weight of every ten dirhams being seven *mithḳâls*, i. e. one hundred and forty carats equalled seven [*mithḳâls*].

Another authority than al-Ḥasan ibn-Ṣâliḥ says:—Ten of some of the Persian dirhams weighed ten *mithḳâls*; of others ten weighed six *mithḳâls*; and of others ten weighed five *mithḳâls*. They added these together and found that it amounted to twenty-one *mithḳâls*. A third of this was taken, being seven *mithḳâls*. And [so] they struck dirhams, ten of which weighed seven *mithḳâls*.

The two accounts come to the same thing. 466

[1] Practically the whole of this chapter is translated by Sauvaire in his treatise on Moslem coins in the *Journal Asiatique*, Series 7, nos. 14, 15, 18, 19, and Series 8, nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 10. See also Series 1, no. 4, p. 334, and *ZDMG*, vol. i, p. 335, and de Sacy, *Traité des monnaies*.

[2] Sauvaire translates "of the caliph's *dînâr*."

Weight of the mithkâl. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Muḥammad ibn-'Umar al-Aslami from 'Uthmân ibn-'Abd-allâh ibn-Mauhab from his father from 'Abdallâh ibn-Tha-'labah ibn-Su'air:—The *dînârs* of Heraclius used to be current among the people of Moakkah before Moslem times, and also the *baghlîyah*[1] dirhams of Persia; but it was not customary to buy and sell with them except by considering the coins as bullion.[2] The *mithkâl* with them was a recognized weight, equal to twenty-two carats less a fraction. Ten dirhams weighed seven *mithkâls*. The *ruṭl* was twelve ounces, and every ounce was forty dirhams. The Apostle of Allah confirmed this, and so did abu-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân, and 'Ali. When Mu'âwiyah became ruler, he confirmed this likewise.

Dirhams of other weights. Afterwards, in the days of 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair, Muṣ'ab ibn-az-Zubair coined smaller dirhams, which were later broken up. And when 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân became ruler, he instituted an investigation into the matter of the dirhams and the *dînârs*, and wrote to al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf to coin dirhams at fifteen carats of the carats of the *dinârs*, and he himself coined the Damascus *dinârs*.

'Uthmân on the authority of his father, who says:—We came near to al-Madînah, wherein were a number of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah and others of the Followers, and they did not protest against this.[3]

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd says:—One of these dirhams of ours weighed fourteen carats of the carats of our *mithḳâl* which contained twenty carats, and equalled the weight of fifteen carats of the *mithkâl* which contained twenty-one and three-sevenths carats.[4]

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 39, notes 6 and 7.

[2] I. e. by weighing rather than by counting the coins.

[3] What this refers to I do not know.

[4] I. e. 14 : 20 :: 15 : 21 3/7.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Muḥammad ibn-'Umar from Isḥâḳ ibn-Ḥâzim from al-Muṭṭalib ibn-as-Sâ'ib from abu-Wadâ'ah as-Sahmi, who says:—I was shown the weight of a *mithḳâl*; I weighed it and found it the weight of the mithḳâl of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân. (This happened in the presence of abu-Wadâ'ah ibn-Dubairah as-Sahmi in the days before the coming of Muḥammad.) 467

Ḳuraishi weights. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from Sa'îd ibn-Muslim ibn-Bâbak from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Sâbiṭ al-Jumaḥi:—The Ḳuraish had weights before the time of Islâm, and when Islâm became the religion, the weights they already had were confirmed The Ḳuraish used to weigh silver with a weight which was called dirham, and gold with a weight which was called *dînâr*. Ten times the weight of the dirham was seven times the weight of the *dînâr*. They had also the weight of the barley grain, which was one-sixtieth of the weight of the dirham. They had the ounce, a weight of forty dirhams, the *nashsh,* of twenty dirhams, and the *nawâh* (date-seed), a weight of five dirhams. They used to buy and sell with gold [weighed] according to these weights. When the Prophet came to Makkah, he confirmed the weights according to the above scale.

Unengraved coins. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from Rabî'ah ibn-'Uthmân from Wahb ibn-Kaisân, who says:—I saw the plain dirhams and *dînârs,* before 'Abd-al-Malik had them engraved, and they were of the same weight as the *dînârs* which 'Abd-al-Malik coined.

The first engraved dînârs. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from 'Uthmân ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Mauhab from his father, who says:—I said to Sa'îd ibn-al-Musayyab, "Who was the first to coin the engraved *dînârs*?" He replied, "'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân; and the *dînârs* which were in use before that were Byzantine, and the dirhams

Persian and a few Ḥimyarite." Sa'îd went on to say, "I sent gold ingots to Damascus, and it was coined for me according to the weight of the *mithkâl* in the time before the religion of Islâm."

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Sufyân ibn-'Uyainah from his father:—The first to coin at the weight of seven [*dînârs* to ten dirhams] was al-Ḥârith ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Rabî'ah al-Makhzûmi in the days of ibn-az-Zubair.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Muḥammad ibn-'Umar from ibn-abu-z-Zinâd from his father:—'Abd-al-Malik was the first to coin gold, in the "year of the pacification," i. e. year 74.

Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ'ini says al-Ḥajjâj coined dirhams in the latter part of the year 75. Then in the year 76 he ordered their coinage in every region. 468

Varying weights. The inspector [of the coinage], Dâ'ûd, says:—I heard our *sheikhs* relate that the 'Ibâd[1] of the people of al-Ḥîrah used to have a currency of which one hundred had the weight of six (meaning "had the weight of sixty *mithkâls* in dirhams"). They had others of which one hundred weighed eight (meaning "eighty *mithkâls* in dirhams"). Others of which one hundred weighed five (meaning "they weighed fifty *mithkâls* in dirhams"). And others of which one hundred weighed one hundred *mithkâls*.

Spurious coins. Dâ'ûd, the Inspector, says:—I saw a dirham upon which was "This dirham was struck in al-Kûfah in the year 73." Closer inspection showed that it was spurious. He continues:—I saw a very rare dirham, the like of which was never seen, upon which was "'Ubaid-allâh ibn-Ziyâd." It was also rejected.

Inscriptions on the coins. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi from Yaḥya ibn-an-Nu'mân al-Ghifâri from his

[1] Tribes of Christian Arabs.

father:—Muṣ'ab struck the dirhams by order of 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair in the year 70, after the model of the Persian coins, with the words "Blessing" and "Allah" upon them. But when al-Ḥajjâj came [into power], he changed it.

It is related on the authority of Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi that Muṣ'ab coined *dînârs* also along with the dirhams.

Dâ'ûd, the Inspector, from abu-z-Zubair, the Inspector:—'Abd-al-Malik coined some *dînârs* in the year 74. Then he coined some in the year 75. Al-Ḥajjâj coined *baghlîyah* dirhams upon which was inscribed "In the name of Allah, al-Ḥajjâj." Then a year later he engraved upon them "Allah is One, Allah is the Eternal." This displeased the doctors of the law [*fuḳahâ*], and the coins were called "disapproved." Others say that the Persians disapproved of their light weight, and [for that reason] they were called "disapproved." The Sumairi coins were so called from the man who first coined them, whose name was Sumair.

Al-Ḥajjâj's mint. 'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his father from 'Awânah ibn-al-Ḥakam:—Al-Ḥajjâj inquired about the procedure of the Persians in the matter of coining dirhams, and then erected a mint, and assembled men to do the stamping. He used to coin money for the Sultân out of the gold bullion which was collected for him, and out of the good metal obtained from spurious coin, alloyed silver, and counterfeit coin. He allowed merchants and others to have silver pieces coined for them, and kept as profit whatever remained after paying the wages of the workmen and coiners. He marked[1] the hands of the coiners. 469

Greater fineness. When 'Umar ibn-Hubairah ruled al-'Irâḳ for Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, he refined the silver more than his predecessors had done, improved the dirhams, and was strict in regard to the exchange.

[1] By tatooing or branding. *Cf. supra*, p. 232, note 1.

Later Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh al-Bajali (also called al-Kasri) ruled al-'Irâk for Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik. He paid [even] stricter attention to the coinage than ibn-Hubairah had done, regulating it more exactly than his predecessor.

Then Yûsuf ibn-'Umar ruled after him, and kept the coiners and money changers under close survilance, cutting the hands and branding the flesh. [As a consequence] the coins of Hubairah, Khâlid, and Yûsuf were the best coins of the banu-Umaiyah. Al-Manṣûr would not accept taxes in any of the coins of the banu-Umaiyah except these. Dirhams of previous mintage were called "disapproved."

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi from ibn-abu-z-Zinâd from his father:—'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was the first who coined gold and silver after the "year of pacification" [*jamâ'ah*].

Abu-z-Zinâd says:—I said to my father, "Do you agree with what people say of ibn-Mas'ûd, that he used to order spurious coins to be broken up?" He replied, "These coins which he ordered broken up were spurious coins struck and counterfeited by the Persians."

'Abd-al-A'la ibn-Ḥammâd ibn-Salamah from Dâ'ûd ibn-Salamah from Dâ'ûd ibn-abu-Hind from ash-Sha'bi from 'Alkamah ibn-Kais:—Ibn-Mas'ûd had a surplus in the treasury and sold it for less than its worth. And 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb reproved him for this. Afterwards he used to lend it.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi from Kudâmah ibn-Mûsa:—'Umar and 'Uthmân, when they found spurious coins in the treasury, used to turn it into silver bullion.

Counterfeiting punished. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Wâkidi from ibn-abu-z-Zinâd from his father:—There was brought to 'Umar ibn-'Abd al-'Azîz a man who was issuing a coinage not bearing the Sulṭân's inscription, and he tor-

tured and imprisoned him, and took his die and threw it into the fire.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi from Kathîr ibn-Zaid from ('Abd-) al-Muṭṭalib ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Ḥanṭab:—'Abd-al-Malik arrested a man who was issuing a coinage not bearing the government inscription, and was going to cut off his hand, but gave up the idea, and punished him by torture. Al-Muṭṭalib [goes on to] say, "I saw several *sheikhs* in al-Madînah who approved of this action of his and praised him [for it]." 470

Al-Wâḳidi says:—Our masters advised very severe punishment and disgrace for those who counterfeited the seal of the caliph, but they did not advise cutting off [the hand]. This is also the opinion of abu-Ḥanîfah and ath-Thauri.

Malik and ibn-abu-Dhi'b and their disciples say:—We disapprove of cutting the dirhams in two when it is sound, and we forbid it, for it is wrong.

Ath-Thauri and abu-Ḥanîfah and his disciples say:—It is not wrong to cut them when this does not harm Islâm nor the Moslems.

The Inspector, 'Amr, from Ismâ'îl ibn-Ibrâhîm from ibn-'Aun from ibn-Sîrîn:—Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam arrested a man in the act of cutting a dirham, and cut off his hand. This came to the knowledge of Zaid ibn-Thâbit, who said, "He punished him as he deserved." Ismâ'îl says that it was a matter of Persian dirhams.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi:—Abân ibn-'Uthmân, the ruler of al-Madînah, punished those who cut the dirhams with thirty strokes and paraded them as a public example. This is the punishment in our time for those who cut them and pour in between molten alloy and baser metal.

Muḥammad from al-Wâḳidi from Ṣâliḥ ibn-Ja'far from ibn-Ka'b, who says in regard to the verse "Or can we not

do with our own what we like?";[1] that it is applicable to the cutting of dirhams.

Muḥammad ibn-Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh from Yazîd ibn-Hârûn from Yaḥya ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-Musayyab:—Sa'îd ibn-al-Musayyab was told about a man who cut dirhams, and Sa'îd said, "This is of the vicious[2] in the world."

'Amr, the Inspector, from Ismâ'îl ibn-Ibrâhîm from Yûnus ibn-'Ubaid from al-Ḥasan:—Men when they were still unbelievers had understood the place of the dirham in the estimation of everyone, and they made it good and kept it pure; but when it came unto you [Moslems], ye debased it and spoiled it.

'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb once said that he wanted to make dirhams out of camel skins, but some one said to him that in that case there would be no baby camels, and he gave the idea up.

[1] Kor. 11:89.

[2] Ar. *fassâd*.

APPENDIX V

THE ART OF WRITING[1]

Arabic alphabet patterned after Syriac. 'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from Muḥammad ibn-as-Sâ'ib al-Kalbi from his father from his grandfather and from ash-Sharḳi ibn-al-Ḳaṭâmi:—There were assembled in Maḳḳah three members of the tribe of Ṭayy, [namely:] Murâmir ibn-Muttah, Aslam ibn-Sidrah, and 'Âmir ibn-Jadarah, and they invented the [art of] writing. They took as a pattern for the Arabic letters the Syriac alphabet. 471

Spread of the art. It was taught by them to some of the people of al-Anbâr. Then it was taught to the people of al-Ḥîrah by the people of al-Anbâr. Bishr ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, the brother of Ukaidir ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-'Abd-al-Jinn, al-Kindi (also surnamed as-Sakûni), the chief of Daumat-al-Jandal, used to come to al-Ḥîrah. He was stopping there at the time. He was a Christian. Bishr learned how to write Arabic from the people of al-Ḥîrah. Then he went to Makkah on some business of his, and Sufyân ibn-Umaiyah ibn-'Abd-Shams and abu-Ḳais ibn-'Abd-Manâf ibn-Zuhrah ibn-Kilâb saw him writing and asked him to teach them the art. He taught them the alphabet; then he showed them how to write, and they wrote.

Then Bishr, Ṣufyân and abu-Ḳais went to the Ṭâ'if on business. Ghailân ibn-Salamah ath-Thakafi accompanied

[1] For the history of Arabic writing see the article by Moritz in *Encyclopedia of Islâm*, vol. i, pp. 381-393, which includes a thorough bibliography of the subject.

them and learned to write from them. Bishr parted from them and went on to Diyâr Muḍar. ʻAmr ibn-Zurârah ibn-ʻUdas learned the art of writing from him and was called ʻAmr al-Kâtib [the scribe]. Then Bishr went to Syria and the people there learned from him how to write.

From the three Ṭâ'ites also a man of Tâbikhah of Kalb learned to write, and he taught it to a man of the people of Wâdi-l-Ḳura, who went back to al-Wâdi and remained there, and taught some of its people to write.

Extent of the art at the time of Muḥammad. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ and Muḥammad ibn-Saʻd from Muḥammad ibn-ʻUmar al-Wâḳidi from Khâlid ibn-al-Yâs from abu-Bakr ibn-ʻAbdallâh ibn-abu-Jahm al-ʻAdawi:—Islâm came, and among the Ḳuraish were seventeen men each of whom knew how to write; ʻUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, ʻAli ibn-abu-Ṭâlib, ʻUthmân ibn-ʻAffân, abu-ʻUbaidah ibn-al-Jarrâḥ, Ṭalḥah, Yazîd ibn-abu-Sufyân, abu-Ḥudhaifah ibn-ʻUtbah ibn-Rabîʻah, Ḥâṭib ibn-ʻAmr the brother of Suhail ibn-ʻAmr 472 al-ʻÂmiri of Ḳuraish, abu-Salamah ibn-ʻAbd-al-Asad al-Makhzûmi, Abân ibn-Saʻîd ibn-al-ʻÂṣi ibn-Umaiyah, Khâlid ibn-Saʻîd his brother, ʻAbdallâh ibn-Saʻd ibn-abu-Sarḥ al-ʻÂmiri, Ḥuwaiṭib ibn-ʻAbd-al-ʻUzza al-ʻÂmiri, abu-Ṣufyân ibn-Ḥarb ibn-Umaiyah, Muʻâwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân, Juhaim ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt ibn-Makhramah ibn-al-Muṭṭalib ibn-ʻAbd-Manâf, and (of the clients of Ḳuraish) al-ʻAlâ' ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami.

Women who could write. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from ʻAbd-ar-Razzâḳ from Maʻmar from az-Zuhri from ʻUbaid-allâh ibn-ʻAbdallâh ibn-ʻUḳbah:—The Prophet said to ash-Shafâ' bint-ʻAbdallâh al-ʻAdawîyah of the family of ʻUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, "Wilt thou teach Ḥafṣah how to indite healing charms as thou hast taught her to write?" Ash-Shafâ was a scribe before the time of Islâm.

Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Wâḳidi from Usâmah ibn-Zaid from ʻAbd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Saʻd:—Ḥafṣah, the wife of the Prophet, could write.

Al-Walîd from al-Wâkidi from ibn-abu-Sabrah from 'Alkamah ibn-abu-'Alkamah from Muhammad ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Thaubân:—Umm-Kulthûm bint-'Ukbah could write.

Al-Walîd from al-Wâkidi from Farwah from 'Â'ishah bint Sa'd, who said:—My father taught me to write.

Al-Walîd from al-Wâkidi from Mûsa ibn-Ya'kûb from his aunt from her mother Karîmah bint al-Mikdâd:—She [Karîmah] could write.

Al-Walîd from al-Wâkidi from ibn-abu-Sabrah from ibn-'Aun from ibn-Maiyâh from 'Â'ishah:—She could read the Korân but could not write.

Al-Walîd from al-Wâkidi from 'Abdallâh ibn-Yazîd al-Hudhali from Sâlim Sabalân from umm-Salamah:—She could read and not write.

Muhammad's scribes. Al-Walîd and Muhammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi from his teachers, who said:—The first who wrote for the Apostle of Allah, having preceded him to al-Madînah, was Ubaiy ibn-Ka'b al-Ansâri. He was the first who wrote in the back of the book "Written by So-and-so." When Ubaiy was not present, the Apostle would call Zaid ibn-Thâbit al-Ansâri, and he would write for him. Ubaiy and Zaid used to write down the revelations in his presence, and his letters to whomever he wrote, and whatever notes he made, etc. 473

Al-Wâkidi says that the first of the Kuraish who wrote for Muhammad was Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abu-Sarh. He afterwards left al-Madînah and returned to Makkah and said to the Kuraish, "I bring that which is just as good as what Muhammad brought." Muhammad used to dictate to him "the unjust," and he would write "the unbelievers;" and he dictated to him "the Listener, the Omniscient," and he would write "the Pardoner, the Merciful" and so forth. Then Allah revealed to the Prophet the following: "Who is

more wicked than he who makes up lies about God, or who says 'It was revealed to me,' when nothing has been revealed to him, and he who says, 'I will cause to come down a revelation like what God has sent down' "[1]

When the day of Makkah's conquest came, the Apostle of of Allah ordered 'Abdallâh to be put to death; but 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân spoke to Muḥammad in behalf of him, saying, "He is my foster brother, and he has accepted Islâm." And so the Apostle of Allah ordered him to be set free. 'Uthmân made him governor of Egypt.

For the Apostle of Allah wrote also 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân, Shuraḥbîl ibn-Ḥasanah aṭ-Ṭâbikhi of Khindif, client of Ḳuraish (Others assert that he was a Kindi.), and Juḥain ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt ibn-Makhramah, Khâlid ibn-Sa'îd, Abân ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi, and al-'Alâ' ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami.

When Mu'âwiyah accepted Islâm in the year of the Conquest, he also acted as scribe for Muḥammad. One day the latter summoned him while he was eating, and he delayed coming; and the Apostle said, "May his belly never be satisfied." Mu'âwiyah used to say, "The prayer of the Apostle of Allah has been fulfilled upon me." For he used to eat daily seven meals more or less.

Al-Wâḳidi and others say:—Ḥanthalah ibn-ar-Rabî' ibn-Rabâḥ al-Usaiyidi of the banu-Tamîm wrote in the presence of the Apostle of Allah a single time, and as a result he was called Ḥanthalah al-Kâtib [the Scribe].

Scribes among the Aus and the Khazraj. Al-Wâḳidi says:—Writing in Arabic was rare among the Aus and the Khazraj. Some of the Jews taught how to write Arabic, and the young folks in al-Madînah had learned it previous to Islâm. Then Islâm came; and among the Aus and the Khazraj a number could write, [namely:] Sa'd ibn-'Ubâdah

[1] Kor., 6:93.

ibn-Dulaim, al-Mundhir ibn-'Amr, Ubaiy ibn-Ka'b, and Zaid ibn-Thâbit. (He used to write Arabic and Hebrew.) 474 and Râfi' ibn-Mâlik, Usaid ibn-Ḥuḍair, Ma'n ibn-'Adi al-Balawi, a client of the Anṣâr, Bashîr ibn-Sa'd, Sa'd ibn-ar-Rabî', Aus ibn-Khawali, and 'Abdallâh ibn-abu-l-Munâfiḳ.

The kâmils. Al-Wâḳidi adds:—Among these the *kâmils* (A *kâmil* is one who in addition to knowing writing knows how to shoot and swim.) were Râfi' ibn-Mâlik, Sa'd ibn-'Ubâdah, Usaid ibn-Ḥuḍair, 'Abdallâh ibn-Ubaiy, and Aus ibn-Khawali. Suwaid ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit and Ḥuḍair al-Katâ'ib, members of the people of Yathrib, possessed these three accomplishments in the [days of the] Ignorance.

Al-Wâḳidi:—Jufainah al-'Ibadi, a Christian, of the people of al-Ḥîrah, was foster father to Sa'd ibn-abu-Waḳḳâṣ. 'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Umar charged him together with Mashâya'ah abu-Lu'lu'ah of complicity in the crime of killing his father ['Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb], and killed him and his two sons.

Zaid ibn-Thâbit learns to write Hebrew. Isḥâḳ ibn-abu-Isrâ'îl from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-z-Zînâd from his father from Khârijah ibn-Zaid, who says that his father, Zaid ibn-Thâbit, said:—The Apostle of Allah ordered me to learn for him the Jewish method of writing, saying to me, "I do not trust a Jew at my writing." And not half a month passed before I learned it. I used to write to the Jews for him, and when they wrote to him, I would read their letters.

Finished is the Book of the Conquests of the Regions, and Praise be to Allah, the only Judge, and His Blessing be upon our Lord Muḥammad, the Prophet, and upon his Family and his Companions, and His Peace.



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